ARTICLES ON CUBA'S FOREIGN COMMERCE AND RECONCENTRADOS.

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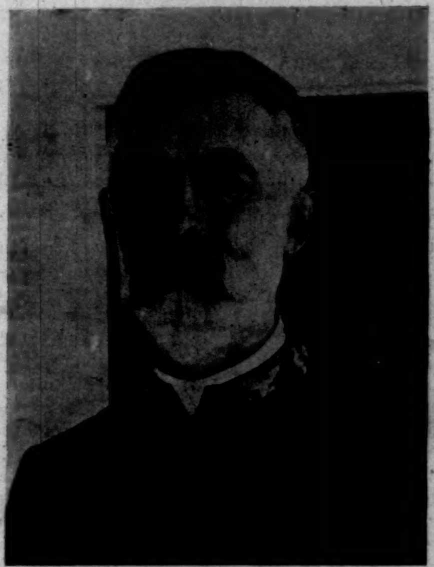

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PROMINENT AMERICAN NAVAL COMMANDERS.

HARPER'S WEEKLY

(TWENTY-FOUR PAGES)

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ANOTHER thing besides the freedom of Cuba will certainly accompany war, if war there must be. Notwithstanding the unwillingness of the real patriots of the country who do not wish war except as the last extremity, the people of the United States will present a united front to their enemies. There will be no differences of opinion among us while war lasts; there will be no hesitancy in providing the means and money to carry on the war; there will be manifested everywhere, and by all classes, devoted loyalty to the country, and those with whom we shall be called upon to contend will have to withstand the full force of a powerful and willing nation. The first step taken for the national defence, aside from the preparations of the general government, was taken by the State of New York in appropriating a million dollars to be used by the government in case of the expected emergency.

IT is greatly to be regretted that the award of the tribunal, fixing the amount of damages owing by the United States to subjects of Great Britain on account of unlawful seizure of vessels in Bering Sea, has not yet been paid. This is a case where all dispute as to the fairness of the claim and the justice of the amount is ended. A judgment has been rendered against us, and we are glad to learn, as we do from Washington, that the award will probably be paid at the present session. But there has already been too much delay about it.

IN another part of the paper will be found an article on Cuban commerce, written by the author of the article on "The Public Finance of Spain," which appeared in a recent number of the WEEKLY. This article will be found even more interesting to people of the United States than the previous article, for it is this country which furnishes to Cuba its best market, and the commerce of the island is almost wholly dependent for its prosperity upon its relations with the United States. One of the interesting suggestions of the article is that Spain has largely contributed to the ruin of Cuba by adopting the same policy towards the island colony that the general government of our own country has adopted towards the agricultural States in behalf of the manufacturing States.

JUDGE BRADLEY of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, if he is reported correctly, ought to be called to account. The other day, in denying a motion made on behalf of a negro who had been convicted of murder, he said, "Lynching probably would be better than putting the government to the expense of keeping and hanging that brute." We have had lawless opinions from Governors of States, and we have had a ruling by a Kentucky judge on what he called the "unwritten law," but Judge BRADLEY's utterance goes beyond anything of the kind in our history. Lynching is one of the disgraces of the country. Communities and people who are guilty of it are not civilized, and a judge who would uphold it is himself a criminal. Congress has taken the matter up, and is contemplating impeachment. If the judge is guilty, there ought to be no doubt about his removal.

AT least one notable good has resulted from the feverish excitement of preliminary war from which the world has been suffering for many days past. It was made clear to Spain that the policy of concentrating the people of Cuba in villages and towns there to starve and die must be abandoned, and an end has been made to that horror, General BLANCO having issued an order doing practically what he pretended to be about to do when he assumed the Captain-Generalship of the island. Under his order the reconcentrados are to be permitted to return to their farms and to remain there. Moreover, they are to be helped in the work of restoring the desolate island by the Spanish government. The horror aroused by Senator PROCTOR was certainly the direct cause of General BLANCO's order, but notwithstanding that order Spain will remain pilloried as the one modern and Christian nation ready to resort to mediæval barbarities for the maintenance of her hold over an unwilling people.

WE are inclined to think that the bosses of New York are not quite so strong as they were before the last election. PLATT and CROKER have failed in some of their schemes. They failed, for example, most signally, to secure control of the rapid-transit project in the interest of Tammany bandits. They failed also to pass their bill for the suppression of criticism by the public press; and CROKER will be obliged, therefore, to submit to the continuance of the habit which the press of New York has acquired of treating him with much less respect than the English press manifests for Mr. GLADSTONE and for Lord SALISBURY. As the New York *Times* recently said, the boss ceases to be strong with the politicians whenever the politicians are made to understand that the people are aggressively hostile to the boss. CROKER is riding to his doom by exhibiting himself too plainly to the people of New York city, and PLATT is probably to meet his fate from a Governor who has not always shown himself over-scrupulous, but who evidently has too much ambition to remain always a humble servitor.

WHEN the report of the *Maine* board of inquiry came before Congress, the Jingoes made a remarkable exhibition of their true character. Every decent citizen in the country accepted the report as a final judgment on the disaster. The officers who composed the board were known to be able and honorable men, who had reached their conclusions, and their failure to conclude definitely, after a patient, thorough, and intelligent examination of all the evidence. But the Jingoes were not satisfied. Representative HULL of Iowa, for example, decided that "the *Maine* was blown up by a Spanish mine." Representative DOLLIVER said that the explosion was the result of a "well-planned conspiracy." Senator HAWLEY has proved to his own satisfaction, by a set of photographs of which he is the happy possessor, that the destruction of the *Maine* was due to "Spanish treachery." Of course Senators MORGAN, MASON, FRYE, and DAVIS all know better than the members of the board of inquiry. The conclusion to be drawn from this feature of the episode is an old one. It is that the Jingo always believes what he wants to believe, and is always ready to denounce every one who disagrees with him.

THE lease by China to Russia of Port Arthur and Ta Lien-wan is finally consummated, and there is general anticipation in Europe of trouble in the Far East. The trouble, however, is not likely to arise between England and Russia, which seem to be on good terms so far, notwithstanding the Chinese concessions to the latter. Russia promises that her ports in China will be as open to foreign commerce as are other Russian ports. The trouble that is likely to break out will be between France and Great Britain. There is really very serious danger of a war between these two countries. The latest letters of our London correspondent, Mr. ARNOLD WHITE, give us a clear exposition of the cause of the difficulty, and every American who is not blinded by the lunacy of Anglophobia will wish well to our English cousins. Where they go, go also freedom and self-government, and, besides, the nation of our kindred is now our strongest friend.

THERE is no doubt that France is in danger. We do not believe that the Russian alliance will be of any help to her in any difficulty which she may have with England. Morally, it has been a distinct disadvantage to her. While M. HANOTAUX is professing friendship for both Spain and the United States, and promising neutrality in case war breaks out, the sympathy of the official press is largely with Spain, just as it was the enthusiastic advocate of the Russian alliance. But the Russian alliance is an unnatural one for the French Republic. It is mainly an alliance compelled by money considerations — in other words, by the needs and hopes of profit of the Paris bankers who hold Turkish bonds. This alliance between the bankers of Paris and the Russian Tsar made the republic the enemy of the Cretans in their struggle for liberty, and the supporter of the Sultan in his war with Greece. At the present time it has made the republic the treacherous enemy of England in Africa, and an intriguer against her interests in China. It has also made the French press pretty generally the unfriendly critic of our own republic in its trouble with Spain. The French press is full of sneers not only at the folly of our Jingoes, but at the wise and conservative course of our government, and of our naval officers who have been investigating the cause of the loss of the *Maine*. So blind are these Paris papers to the facts of the situation that their editorial columns are simply filled with untruths uttered in the contemptuous manner which is natural to French wits. We do not believe that the people of France like this attitude towards us any more than they really like the attitude of the republic in its adherence to the interests of the Sultan, and in its hostility to the Cretan struggle for self-government. If the spirit which is dominating France, which includes at present the military spirit seeking to increase the prestige of the army in view of the recent assault upon its honor by ZOLA, succeeds in bringing about war between England and France, France will probably suffer a serious defeat, and an important loss of territory in the East, and after that the bankers and *bourgeoisie* will, we fear, have to reckon with socialism.

THE COURSE OF THE PRESIDENT.

THE United States can wage war on Spain and retain the respect of herself and of the civilized world if Spain refuses to permit us to help the starving reconcentrados, or, in order to prevent the recurrence of starvation and misery, to arrange to bring the wasting war in Cuba to an end. We may rightfully wage war, too, if Spain does not make a proper response, touching the sinking of the *Maine*, to Mr. MCKINLEY's appeal to her sense of justice. We could not make war righteously unless we waited for the refusal of our aid, or of the demanded promise of eventual peace, or of sufficient indemnification for the loss of our American ship and sailors. The President's course has been to make Spain commit the first act of war, and in this the President has been right, while, in trying to hurry him, Congress has been wrong.

Intelligent men will agree that this country ought not to deliver the first blow unless for better reasons for its hostile attitude than were contained in the resolutions offered in the Senate last week. Not one of these stated a single authentic fact which would sustain us before the court of nations in making war on Spain. They were the frenzied imaginings of distempered minds bent on war, and disappointed because war had not already come. Not a word in them would excuse an immediate declaration of war, or anything but diplomatic negotiation for the peace of Cuba and the indemnification of the United States, such negotiations as the President insisted on carrying on to the end.

This is undoubtedly the time when the President needs and deserves the support of the rational men of the country. Since the report of the board of inquiry on the *Maine* was sent to Congress there has been a great losing of heads that had up to that moment been cool and intelligent. Since Monday of last week a very large number of the people of this country, perhaps a majority, have believed that the *Maine* was blown up by design, and some have gone so far as to accuse the Spaniards of the monumental wickedness and folly of such a crime. The people who are newly recruited for war say, indeed, that they want to fight for humanity's sake, but when they come to the last and bottom declaration of the cause of their hostility it is found that they are filled with rage because the *Maine* was blown up, and, in their opinion, blown up by a treacherous and inconceivably wicked foe, who all the time was pretending friendship for the United States, and, besides, was all the time making court to Europe by a show of dignity and reserve, intended to emphasize, by way of contrast, the enormity of the alleged offence and the gravity of the alleged impertinence committed by the United States in threatening to interfere between a friendly power and her rebellious subjects.

We have hoped that there was to be no war, but we have realized that the shouters who want war for war's sake, or for the chance that war gives to rob the government and the people through contracting and other forms of sutlering, have succeeded in superheating a good many intellects to a point where thinking is difficult to them. If this were not so, the very character of the men who have been clamorous for war would have incited to caution and suspicion. Is it not a fact that the men in public life whom the country most trusts have been for an honorable peace, if an honorable peace could be maintained? Is it not also true that the loudest for war have been the discredited? However, as we have said, the cry for war has been so strong and lusty that it has drowned men's reasons, and politicians who have earned and received the contempt of good citizens have lately been accepted as trustworthy guides because they have wanted to light the torch of war. We must reckon, too, with the spirit of unrest, with the feeling that even war would be better than a condition of uncertainty.

But a large part of this spirit is also commercial, and has its sources in disappointment at the breaking up of the spring trade, and in consequent loss of advertisements, rather than in the everlasting and blessed fountains of patriotism. We must bear in mind, too, the influence of the Cuban insurgents and the Junta, who insist on determining the attitude of the United States, and compelling this country to win the independence of Cuba at any cost to itself. We must reckon also with the baser politicians who are governed entirely by their party and personal interests, and who are quite willing that Americans shall be killed in war, whether the war be just or unjust, so long as their temporary political ends are gained thereby. And, above all, we must reckon with the awakened sympathies of the people, who have been stirred in the depths of their hearts by Senator PROCTOR's revelations, and whose cause is always worthy of the profoundest respect.

What is the real state of the case? We could not go to war over the destruction of the *Maine*. Even those who believed that Spain is guilty could not rationally advocate such a course. The report of the board of inquiry stood in the way. The board believed that the *Maine* was blown up from the outside, but it had not a particle of evidence as to who was responsible for the accident. For our part, we accept the conclusion of the board. We believe in the men who composed it, and in the character and thoroughness of their investigation. We believe that in such a case as this, involving as it does the gravest international relations, and holding within itself the most serious of possibilities, that the board would understate rather than exaggerate the significance of purely circumstantial testimony. Therefore we believe that there is the strongest of reasons, short of absolute certainty, for the finding that the explosion was from the outside. But there is no evidence whatever fixing the guilt on any one; so that Spain is only responsible, in international law, for constructive negligence, and the only compensation that could properly be demanded for such responsibility is a money compensation. We do not, of course, accept the Spanish report in the disaster as of the slightest value. That follows from the acceptance of the report of our own officers; but even if our own report had not been made, the assertion of the Spanish board, taking into consideration the character of the investigation on which it was based, is of no greater value, say, than is any important assertion made by any sensational newspaper. In taking the report of the SAMPSON board as conclusive, we differ, of course, from the Jingoes; but no honest and competent man can agree with them unless the facts happen to jump with Jingo desires.

But if there is no cause for war, how could a cause be found in the condition of the reconcentrados, unless Spain refused to permit us to feed them? We admit that, if Spain should object, the country ought to fight for the privilege. There is something more attractive in this proposition than in the suggestion that the report of the SAMPSON board is not true, and that we should fight before Spain has had an opportunity to say no to a demand for recompense, on a state of facts which the board explicitly declared that it could not find. "No matter about the *Maine!* No matter about any other cause!" shouted the Jingoes the week before last. "Let us fight for the sake of humanity!" And the country was very strongly inclined to go with them. But if Spain would not object to our feeding the poor wretches, the reason for fighting for the privilege would be gone. There is no one but THURSTON who has deliberately declared that his charity cannot be seasoned to his taste except with powder and shot. If Spain would permit us to feed the reconcentrados, and would give us satisfactory assurance of the ending of the war, certainly we could not then declare war. This was the position of the President, while the position of the Jingoes was that war should be declared without waiting for Spain's refusal of our charity.

The President has not wanted to fight merely for the sake of war or for Cuban independence unconnected with humanitarian reasons. Until the present time very few citizens of this country have wanted the United States to go to war for Cuban independence alone, and not many would now favor such a war were it not for the temporary blinding influence of unreasoning passion. Sensible persons have a just appreciation of the hollowness of the pretence of love and admiration for the Cuban patriots. There may come cause for war between Spain and the United States, but it will never be merely the struggle for Cuban independence. The horrors of Spanish rule in Cuba justify the United States in demanding that Spain give up its effort to put down the insurrection, but while Spain is consenting to our charitable intervention we should not press her with undue haste. And since she thus permits us to feed the victims of her barbarities, we cannot consistently shoot the consenting Spaniard with one hand while we are feeding the starving Cuban with the other, unless the Spaniard insists that there shall be no consideration of peace by him until the insurrectionists surrender. It is here that the President has found himself. He has sought to relieve the distress, the revelation of which has horrified and amazed the world, and at the same time to guard his country from the terrible evils of war. He has performed the task of a just, merciful, and wise man. He has been surrounded by a snarling pack of warlike politicians and newspapers who have wanted war for reasons which they cannot sustain—in short, for any reason that will draw blood.

THE PHILANTHROPIC POLICY.

BY CARL SCHURZ.

A FEW days ago the excitement about Cuba seemed to turn on the miseries of the reconcentrados. The recent speech of Senator PROCTOR describing their pitiful condition called forth outbursts of genuine sympathy all over the country, which did honor to the popular heart. Their sincerity was proved by the renewed efforts made on all sides to succor the unfortunates, and it was responsive to the popular feeling that President McKINLEY, whose general conduct under trying circumstances is entitled to the highest praise, made this work of humanity the most prominent point of his policy with regard to the Cuban question. Spain did not repel this peaceful intervention. On the contrary, General BLANCO has approved of it, and issued an order returning the reconcentrados to their homes, and promising them material assistance on the part of his government. It is said by advocates of armed intervention in Cuba that Spain cannot be trusted as to the good faith of her promises. Granted for argument's sake. But is it not probable that under the fierce pressure of the public opinion of the world now bearing upon her she will really make an earnest effort to keep that promise? If this is her intention, will not armed interference by the United States in Cuba, which would mean war, be apt to change the purpose of the Spanish government to relieve the reconcentrados, thus return those unfortunates to their misery, and at the same time deprive them of the philanthropic assistance intended for them by our people? For it must be considered that in case of war the Spaniards would necessarily make a desperate effort to shut us off from all communication with the sufferers, and if we made any attempt to reach them with our food-supplies and hospital stores, to capture those things for themselves. In the mean time the miserable reconcentrados would be in a more wretched and forlorn plight than they are at present, for they would be robbed of the help they are now receiving. It may be said that our warships and our brave troops would soon open a way to them. But that would depend upon the fortunes of war, and the fortunes of war are notoriously very uncertain; they are especially so when the war is to be mainly fought out on the sea with those modern battle-ships of which nobody can predict how they will behave or calculate to what accidents they will be exposed in actual conflict. We may be superior to the Spaniard in the number and quality of our ships, the power of our batteries, and the efficiency of our men. But a chance shot fired from a Spanish vessel may at the decisive moment of an important naval engagement disable our best ship, and turn the action in favor of the enemy. This would, of course, not determine the final result of the war, which, we can safely assume, will, owing to the immense superiority of our resources, leave us master of the field. But it may enable the Spaniards to hold the sea, and to shut us off from the island of Cuba awhile longer, and thus give the poor reconcentrados plenty of time to starve to death or to perish from disease.

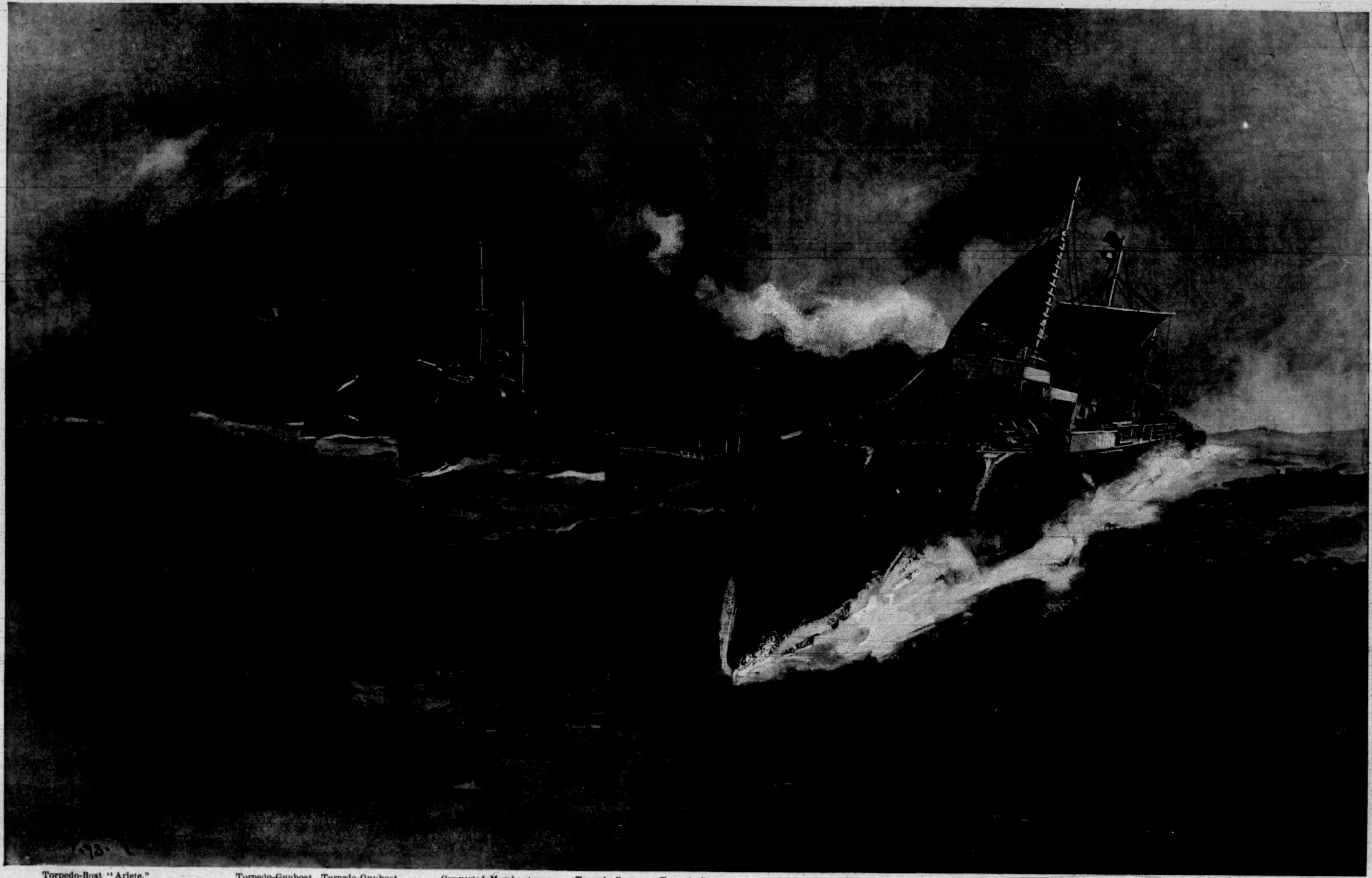
Thus it appears that, if it is really our aim promptly to relieve the reconcentrados of their present misery, we should jump at the chance of doing this peaceably, for the very simple reason that armed interference—that is, the actual outbreak of hostilities between ourselves and the power ruling the country in which our charity is to be exercised—would forcibly separate us from the objects of our benevolence, and doom them to further sufferings for a time to be determined by that uncertain factor the fortune of war. He whose philanthropic feeling for the reconcentrados is sincere will therefore, on their behalf, be for peace, at least so long as he is peaceably permitted to pursue his philanthropic work. He may be for war—that is, for armed intervention—only when the path of the philanthropic work is obstructed by force, and he has to cut his way through to those he seeks to benefit. He who is for war while that way is open will have no right to complain if other motives and aims than those of philanthropy are imputed to him. To say that armed intervention will have the purpose of securing the future welfare of those we wish to succor is useless, for two reasons. In the first place, a great many of them would be sure to perish while we were seeking to secure their future welfare in a manner rendering us, for some time at least, unable to provide for their present existence; and secondly, the war with Spain, precipitated by that armed intervention, would deprive us of every possibility of obtaining by further peaceable negotiation the philanthropic end we have in view—which peaceable negotiation would probably become much easier and more promising after we had once won from Spain the admission of our friendly interest in the internal affairs of Cuba.

Thus it is evident that if philanthropy really constitutes the ruling motive of our action, our object will be best served by a peaceable policy, and that if we precipitate a war with Spain by armed intervention without absolute and obvious necessity, the singleness of our philanthropic motive, no matter what our protestations may be, will hardly be trusted by anybody. And it is certainly of high importance to us, as to our honorable standing in the family of nations, that our integrity of purpose and profession, our character for truth and veracity, should stand above question in the opinion of civilized mankind. In this respect it should not be forgotten that if our philanthropic policy is to have full credit, it should not only be, but also *appear* to be, free from all promptings of selfishness. We should, therefore, neglect no means or opportunity for convincing the world that the acquisition of Cuba for the United States, as an intended or a merely incidental result of our action, is absolutely foreign to our thoughts.

Neither should we forget that the philanthropic policy, if it is to be genuine, must be philanthropic "all round." It must not, in order to alleviate the sufferings of some, impose avoidable suffering on others. That Cuba has been sorely oppressed and maltreated by Spanish misgovernment; that the struggle between the Cuban insurgents and the Spanish forces bore traits of outrageous cruelty; that the forcible "concentration" of the country people in the towns without means of subsistence was a barbarous measure, subjecting its victims to horrible misery; that the Spanish government has been unwilling or unable to put an end to such revolting atrocities; and that the condition of the afflicted portion of the Cuban people powerfully appeals to the sympathy and the helpful impulses of every generous person—all this is certainly true. It is no less true that if, in obedience to such helpful impulses, we resort to war, we shall sacrifice the lives of an incalculable number of our own people in battle or, in case of an invasion of Cuba, by disease; we shall spend in the work of slaughter and devastation perhaps a hundred times as much money as it would cost to feed the hungry and to clothe the naked in Cuba—or, for that matter, to relieve the miseries of the indigent in our own country—for many months; we shall cause that trouble and distress among the poorer classes of our own people by which every war is accompanied and followed; and we shall call into unbridled activity those elements of corruption and demoralization in our social and political life which war never fails to stimulate, and of which we already witness the premonitory symptoms. All this, too, is certainly true. If the one side is entitled to generous consideration, is not the other? If philanthropy demands that we avert harm from the Cuban people, does not the same philanthropy demand that we avert harm from our own people likewise? Is only the one thing to be called "magnanimity" and "honor," and the other "cowardice"?

But we are asked, "Shall we stand by in cold-blooded selfishness, unwilling to take any risk to save our unfortunate neighbors?" No. But if we are a wise, a truly generous, a truly philanthropic people, willing even, if necessary, to take any risk, we shall exhaust the last chance for the peaceable attainment of succor to the suffering and the stoppage of bloodshed and Spanish misrule in Cuba; we shall firmly sustain the noble, patriotic, and statesmanlike efforts of President McKINLEY to accomplish that object; we shall honor him for his steadfast fidelity in seeking to save both sides from harm; and with him we shall firmly uphold the first principle of true philanthropy—honorable peace so long as it is possible; war only when it becomes an imperative necessity.

When this was written, negotiations with Spain were still pending. By the time it will appear the situation may be essentially changed. But the principles and views herein set forth may even then be thought deserving of consideration.



Torpedo-Boat "Ariete."

Torpedo-Gunboat "Pluton."

Torpedo-Gunboat "Terror."

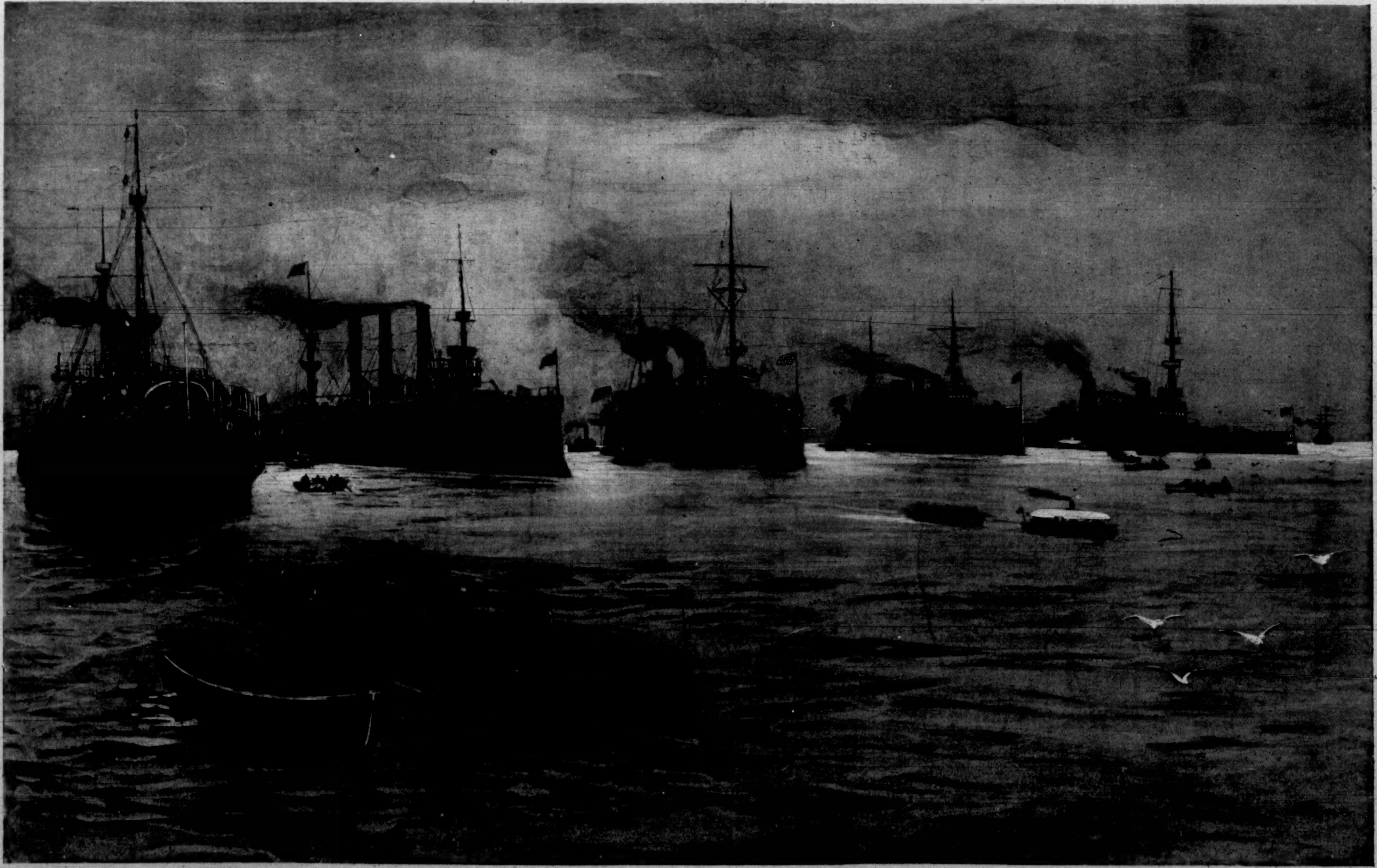
Converted Merchant-man "Ciudad de Cadiz," as Convoy.

Torpedo-Boat "Rayo."

Torpedo-Boat "Azor."

Torpedo-Gunboat "Furor."

SPAIN'S TORPEDO-BOAT FLOTILLA *EN ROUTE* FROM THE CANARIES TO PUERTO RICO.—DRAWN BY W. LOUIS SONNTAG, JR.—[SEE PAGE 355.]



2nd Class Battle-Ship "Texas." Armored Cruiser "Brooklyn." Protected Cruiser "Minneapolis." Protected Cruiser "Columbia." 1st Class Battle-Ship "Massachusetts."

THE FLYING SQUADRON—EARLY MORNING AT HAMPTON ROADS.—Drawn by Carlton T. Chapman.

LONDON.

March 19, 1898.

In Lord Salisbury's break-down the inevitable has happened. The task of governing the British Empire in quiet times requires the vigor of a healthy Titan. During the last fortnight England has been on the verge of war with France. Nobody knows better than Lord Salisbury the meaning of war, and if those behind him have cried "Forward!" with ever-increasing urgency, the task of holding the country in check has imposed upon the Prime Minister a burden under which he has, at all events, temporarily, succumbed. Notwithstanding the optimistic forecast of his friends, there is reason to believe that the reconstruction of the ministry, at which I have more than once hinted, will not long be delayed. With foreign affairs in their present tangled condition, the conduct of the Foreign Office cannot long remain in commission. For the present Mr. Balfour visits the Foreign Office for a short time every day, when the more important despatches and decisions are submitted to him. Mr. Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Lord Lansdowne, and Mr. Goschen, who form the inner circle of the cabinet, will, it is understood, be consulted on all matters of special moment. This stop-gap plan may last for a few weeks, but it is fatal to rapidity of action, to continuity of design, or to the strength of policy that is attainable only from the exercise of a single mind invested with plenary powers.

As Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury has been saved from the necessity of much correspondence and consultation; still, the union of the two offices is unlikely to recur in our time. The mere physical labor of perusing despatches has prevented the rapid transaction of business. Many despatches are necessarily put aside. The Foreign Office is clogged with arrears. Misunderstandings accumulate. And the result of the Prime Minister adding to his duties the control of the foreign relations of Britain is exactly what it would be if the senior partner of a great firm were to undertake personal responsibility for the control of the largest department of the business in addition to the general supervision of all the others.

With regard to the difficulties with France, it is now understood that, so far as British and French statesmanship is concerned, matters will not be forced to a head before the new French Chamber is elected. Colonel Lugard, on landing at Lagos, will find himself in command of a force of 8000 men, with ample stores and munitions of war. Transport by the Niger route will again be available early in April. I am informed from trustworthy sources that the French have also sent strong re-enforcements to Dahomey. Whatever may be the desire of the governments on both sides of the Channel, it is possible that events on the West Coast may force their hands. Notwithstanding the denial of Monsieur Hanotaux, there is reason to know that a French force—whether disavowed or not is immaterial—is actually on the left bank of the Niger, in the region expressly reserved by the Anglo-French treaty of 1890 as constituting the British Protectorate. An adequate British force of the Royal Niger Company is now understood to be in pursuit of the French expedition repudiated by Monsieur Hanotaux. Either by force or persuasion the latter will be compelled to retire. It is expected that decisive news will be received on this subject within the next few days.

It remains to be seen, in the event of French defeat or retirement, how Paris and the Chauviniste element in France will accept the situation. Behind the question of French encroachments in Sokoto there is the more important question of Boussa, English by direct treaty, dated July 20, 1890. By the third article of this instrument, after granting to the Royal Niger Company full and absolute jurisdiction over all foreigners in the territories of Boussa and Borgu, the Emir and chiefs undertake never at any time to "cede any of our territories to any other person or state, or enter into any agreement, treaty, or arrangement with any foreign government, except through and with the consent of the Company [the Royal Niger], or, if the Company should at any time so desire, with the consent of the government of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India."

If these details are not very interesting, it is perhaps well to record them in order to prove to the American public that Great Britain is not grasping territory that is not admittedly British. The state of relations with France is shown by the fact that the letters of one great Jewish house, of both London and Paris, are sent by special messenger, as it is afraid, in the present state of feeling, to trust its despatches to the French post-office.

The self-restraint of the United States on the questions at issue with Spain continue to be watched with the closest attention, and the hope is growing that a conflict may be avoided. The general—I might almost say the universal—opinion of serious men is that there is no necessity for war, even if the *Maine* disaster should prove to be the result of design, so long as the Spanish government is not implicated in the crime. The only justification for war by a great civilized state is either defence of national existence or the vindication of national honor. Neither of these considerations enters into the question of the *Maine*. Her loss does not imperil your national safety, and the act of an individual foreign miscreant does not touch your national honor. The case of Cuba is different. If Armenia were an island in the British Channel, governed by the Turk and subject to inveterate misgovernment, the sentiments of Englishmen would be identical with the feelings of Americans towards Cuba. The view in England is that the United States is justified, on the ground of national honor, in seeking to put things right in Cuba with or without war. If accomplished peaceably, the achievement will be one of the most signal triumphs of the higher statesmanship recorded in the present century.

It is stated that Mr. Michael Davitt tells the American people that the sympathies of the English ruling classes are really with Spain, and that they are as hostile to America as they were in the days of Washington and Lincoln. The statement is untrue, and is obviously dictated by the desire to create bad blood between England and the United States. On good authority, I am able to say that a recrudescence of the physical-force party in Ireland has begun. Secret meetings are being held, and active endeavors are being made to revive the Agrarian trouble. The anniversary of the rebellion of 1798 is being employed to sow ill feeling and to neutralize the patient and not ungenerous attempts made by England during the last thirty years to repair the injustice of former generations. If Fenianism should revive, it will be put down. The English people now understand too much of the Irish question to dance to the piping of a gang of political mercenaries. Mr. Davitt opposed the ratification of the Arbitration Act with America because his desire to injure England is greater than his power to benefit his compatriots in the United States.

The question of Anglo-American relations is the subject of constant discussion. Thoughtful Englishmen appreciate the fact that international affairs throughout the world are driving the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race into a closer union, both of interest and of policy. England and the United States are now virtually the only efficient representatives of liberty and law against militarism and despotic government. If England and America are to come together, their mutual approach will have been accomplished by the peoples long before their rulers have formulated the conditions under which their mutual interests will be defined. Questions have been asked in the House of Commons this week, by Mr. Davitt and other Irishmen, as to whether Great Britain will loan war-ships to the United States. The negative answers of Mr. Curzon do not exhaust the possibilities. If a conflict ensues between the United States and Spain, it will be unnecessary for England to offer, or for the United States to accept, the active intervention of Great Britain, an act which might, not unjustly, be regarded as beneath the dignity of the American people.

Still, there are other methods by which the warm and active sympathy of Britain with the States might be exhibited. The use of British ports, coaling-stations, and dock-yards, given to the United States and withheld from Spain, would provide the former with naval bases in European waters, the value of which could not be overrated. There is every disposition, and, I believe, a popular determination, to do anything that is necessary to support the principles of freedom and justice with which the United States' action in reference to Cuba is bound up.

As an instance of the friendly feelings towards the United States now exhibited in purely English gatherings, I may mention that at a dinner given by the Navy League to Lord Charles Beresford the speeches began with a pointed reference to the loss of the *Maine* that showed, after all, blood is thicker than water. The Navy League dinner was naturally restricted to British subjects, but I noticed that the only man in the room not of English birth was a distinguished American gentleman, whose presence indicated the character of the relations subsisting between the two countries. On the occasion of Captain Mahan's visit to England, in July next, he also will be the guest of the Navy League. These are straws which show which way the wind blows.

Before leaving the subject of Anglo-American relations I venture to state with perfect frankness the admirable effect that would be produced upon English public opinion by the payment of the indemnity awarded to Great Britain under the sealing arbitration. Although the amount involved is but small and the people interested obscure and unknown here, the prompt payment by the United States of what is looked on as the just dues of British subjects would be both timely and in the highest political sense a generous recognition of the principles of international arbitration.

Officers wounded in the Afridi campaign are beginning to appear in London society, and one hears from them many things of deep interest which have not appeared in the newspapers. Here is one. Much has been said lately against the type and character of the private soldiers sent from England to India. It is true that before and even during the campaign some slight weeding was necessary. An officer who himself was severely wounded by a Dum-dum bullet tells the following story of thirteen private soldiers, which deserves to go down into history. During one of the rear-guard actions a small detachment of twelve men and a non-commissioned officer was cut off. The officer referred to was in command of the party despatched next morning to find them. On reaching the place where the men had made their last stand he found thirteen dead bodies. All their rifles were of course stolen by the Afridis. Here comes the point of the story. After firing his last cartridge, each man of the thirteen removed the breech-bolt of his rifle and threw it as far as he could, so that the rifle, which he knew would be used against his countrymen, might be rendered useless. Every one of those thirteen bolts was recovered by the young officer in command of the search party. The last thought of these men before they laid down their lives was not for themselves, but for their countrymen and comrades. It is good to belong to the race capable of such things.

I am afraid that there is some truth in the following extract from a private letter received from an officer on the Indian frontier who has had his share of hard knocks:

"I don't know if the useless war is to be carried to still greater lengths or not. I don't see, at the present rate, how it will ever end! I hope you will persuade your journalistic friends that the forward policy is absolutely fatal, and that India will soon be ruined by such incompetent men as we have now at the head of affairs. Sir —— —— is at the bottom of all this Afridi trouble, and yet the Viceroy still upholds him in power. Lord —— —— seems to be very incompetent too, and judging from his speeches, he knows nothing about India. They should give up Chitral and recall the Viceroy, and then India might have a chance. Thank goodness, Sir —— —— is going; we shall have one fool the less amongst the authorities now. Sir —— —— is a dead failure, and he has had much to say to all the disasters at the front. The British public have been blinded, but, thank God, there are men like yourself at home who could enlighten them about the real state of Indian affairs. I am no pessimist, but I really believe India is on the verge of ruin. The military party has too much power out here, and the Viceroy is a weak man and of no ability. There will be a new campaign now, and all the bloodshed repeated all over again, and we shall gain nothing for it all. The sole cause of all these frontier troubles is *Chitral* and the making of military roads through the Swat country. How Russia and the Ameer must be laughing at us for pulling their chestnuts out of the fire for them!"

For seven or eight years the public have heard nothing of Mr. J. E. C. Bodley. Ten years ago he was well known, first, as an able official of the Local Government Board, and, secondly, as the secretary and colleague of Sir Charles Dilke in his monumental work on Great Britain. This work was a study of comparative politics and a survey of the entire empire. It is understood that Mr. Bodley investigated the South African problem for Sir Charles, and that the section of the work devoted to the country south of the Zambesi was the work of Mr. Bodley. From that time to this Mr. Bodley seemed to have disappeared from literature and public affairs. He has not been idle. The result of his leisure has just been given to the world in the form of a scholarly, comprehensive, impartial, and pregnant analysis of the political situation in France. He tells us that during a residence of some seven years in France he has investigated every source of information likely to throw light upon his task. He frequented all classes of French society. He became acquainted with the peasantry, with the army, with men of letters, with the aristocracy, and with the middle classes. Like Arthur Young, he sojourned in rural France, and one result of his work is to dispel the notion, too prevalent both in the United States and in this country, that Paris is France.

The pessimism of France seems to be concentrated in the capital and in the great cities. The French people outside the centres of population are industrious and happy. Although the republic has excluded from its service the worthiest sons of France, and has discouraged politicians of decorous example, the cynicism and dejection which form the distinctive note of modern civilization have not yet invaded rural France. That portion of the people which goes resolutely about its daily work and is careless of the form of government under which it lives is not yet stricken with the pessimistic disease that ravages whole communities, irrespective of their racial origin or system of government. Civilized progress in France in some important features has had less depressing results in France than elsewhere. There is no counterpart on the other side of the Channel of the "submerged tenth" of our English cities, whose condition still disgraces our statesmanship.

The social question is serious in France, but it does not present any such sombre pictures of suffering as would warrant extreme dejection. The dolorous contagion of pessimism in France is largely due to the disastrous issue of the war with Prussia. Through all history France has been blithe, expansive, and debonair. She is now peevish, suspicious, damaged in fortune, restless, and bereaved in her affections. The "fatal drollery of representative government," as Mr. Disraeli once called it, seems to be unsuited to the buoyant and somewhat irresponsible temperament of the French people. This is the true origin of our present disputes with France. Constitutional government, to be a success, requires two homogeneous and well-defined parties. France is split up by the group system, and this is but a synonym for irreconcilable conflict, and is the raw material of inveterate corruption in public life.

In France, since the Revolution, the rise and fall of dynasties, not of ministries, have reflected the varying moods of the nation. France has failed to realize any one of the three items in the formula of the Revolution—liberty, equality, and fraternity. The solid result of the Revolution was to bring Napoleon into the field, and to give his master mind the opportunity of establishing that system of internal organization which has outlasted the hundred changes of men and principles that have occurred since the Revolution. The fabric of law and of administration which is the strength and glory of modern France is due to Napoleon. Constitutionalism is unsuited to the French blood. No system of Parliamentary government satisfies the French people. It is not the republic *per se* that is responsible for the low ebb to which French politics has sunk. The fault has been in the attempt to copy the Parliamentary system of England, which is the result of slow growth, and is incapable of being transplanted to foreign soil inhabited by men of the Latin race. Amid the chaos of the Terror and the bloodshed of the Revolution Napoleon devised a system of local administration which has outlived his conquests, and may yet prove to be the foundation on which the verdict of history on the achievements of his life will finally rest.

Such are the main ideas of Mr. Bodley's work. He is of opinion that the coming revolution in France will transform the republic in the direction of the Napoleonic system. The absence of a Cæsar alone has prevented the resumption of power by the inevitable strong man. The hour has come, but not the savior of society. One-man power is the only solution of the problem suited to the genius of the French people. It only remains to be said that Mr. Bodley's work, though not, perhaps, very well arranged, is the best exposition of the temper, politics, feeling, and genius of the French people that has yet been given by an Englishman to English-speaking people. Mr. P. G. Hamerton's delightful works are planned on a smaller scale and occupy a lower plane. Those who are interested in the future of France, or take interest in the process of fermentation which now occupies the attention of Europe, will do well to study Mr. Bodley's book. In this day of slipshod impressionism and superficial analysis the results of seven years' hard work of a trained political thinker are too valuable to pass over with casual and heedless praise.

The principal theatrical event of the week is Nelly Farren's benefit, from which she derives an income of $2000 for life. Londoners are more grateful to those who make them laugh than to those who make them think.

Arnold White.

THIS BUSY WORLD

THESE are good times for professional prophets. Every one wants to know what is going to happen, and no one except an experienced prophet can tell. Volunteer prophets do not count for much just now. They are apt to be emotional, and their forecasts are open to the suspicion of being prompted by their wishes or their fears. Besides, they are so numerous and their anticipations are so conflicting that no reliable data can be extracted from them. Only regular prophets who know their business need expect attention. Of these the most noted is Lieutenant Totten. He has been heard from; his voice is clear, and his attitude that of Anthony Trollope's hero who Knew He was Right. He declares that it is all turning out as he expected; that Daniel seems to have had the *Maine* disaster and the Cuban war in mind in his forecasts, and that next year, the last year of the century, will see the second coming of Christ and the dawn of the millennium. Mr. Totten reconciles himself cheerfully to the possible obliteration of Spain by the United States, though he does not absolutely certify that that is going to happen. He reads our prospects not in the yellow journals, but in the stars, which cannot lie and have no "extras" to dispose of. The heavenly bodies, he says, are in a state of violent excitement, which points to momentous occurrences between the 15th and 18th of the present month. From March 29 to April 1 was another period for which he predicted violent inflammation.

If matters turn out as Lieutenant Totten expects, it will be interesting to notice whether he is called, as a man of military education, to active service in the army, or left to marshal the stars and translate the celestial signals.

James Payn, who died in London on March 25, had been an industrious man of letters for more than forty years, and turned out in his time a prodigious amount of readable "copy." He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, published a volume of verse before he left college, and as soon as he was graduated—in 1854—became a frequent contributor to the *Westminster Review* and *Household Words*. In 1858 he became editor of *Chambers's Journal*, in which came out his first novel, "A Family Scapegrace," and some years later "Lost Sir Massingberd," a very successful story, which is said to have had an exceedingly favorable effect on the circulation of the magazine that published it.

Ten years ago Mr. Payn had no less than thirty-six novels to his credit. The British Museum catalogue makes him the author of more than 100 volumes. His stories were popular and successful, though none of them won permanent distinction. He also wrote many essays, and a volume of recollections. In 1892 he became editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*, and for some years, until very lately, he has furnished a weekly page of paragraphs to the London *Illustrated News*. Of late he had been very much out of health, though that seemed not to have much effect upon his literary activity.

A Washington correspondent reports the findings of the government Bureau of Entomology in the matter of the house-fly. The fly is an enormously reproductive creature, and, if a fair chance is given to it, can supply any demand in a very short time. Practically all flies are bred in stables. The eggs do best in horse-droppings. They are easily killed by chloride of lime or kerosene; and as the new flies make for water as soon as hatched, a dish of poisoned water in a stable is effective in reducing their numbers. The way to keep a stable clear of flies is to spray all fresh manure with kerosene. The most hopeful token of the abatement of flies in cities, however, is to be found in the substitution of electricity for horses, but that is still so far off that there is every prospect that the fly question will still be actively discussed long after the Cuban question is settled.

Modern spiritualism dates from the "Rochester knockings," which began on the night of March 31, 1848, in Hydesville, New York. The Fox sisters, who invented the knockings, soon carried their phenomena to Rochester, where they began careers of adventure which were far from edifying in their results. To the average lay observer spiritualism seems a barren, disappointing, misleading, and demoralizing affair. It has done notorious damage to many persons, and it is not generally known that any good has come from it, or that it has brought to light any important new truth. It has been so honeycombed with fraud that it has always been very difficult to be sure that there was anything else than fraud to it; yet perhaps it has been of some use in promoting inquiry into psychical phenomena.

There were some celebrations of the jubilee of American spiritualism last week, but the chief celebration will be held next June, when the International Congress of Spiritualists meets at Rochester. However unremunerative spiritualism may seem to most persons, the believers in it in this country and Canada are numerous enough to form an important and active religious sect, with an organization and an estimated membership of 150,000, distributed among six or seven hundred local associations. They own a million dollars' worth of property, including about eighty churches, and employ about 1500 mediums. No doubt their experiments and researches afford them much entertainment, and of course they enjoy that fellowship of kindred minds in which all sorts of sectaries find their profit. An Alabama man explained his willingness to fight Spain by the confession that it was powerful dull in Alabama a good deal of the time. The dulness of normal existence for very many people, which drives some of them to drink, explains very many curious things, and no doubt, among others, the growth of spiritualism. What an enormous accumulation of fads there will be for the prohibitionists to turn attention to, and maybe fight, after they have abolished rum!

Long ago life must have ceased to be worth living for Mrs. Delia Stewart Parnell, and her death, which came on March 27, must have been in the nature of a welcome release. Misfortunes, bereavements, and reverses clouded her mind as her years advanced, and made her old age a tragedy. She was the daughter of Commodore Stewart of the American navy, was born in 1815, and in 1842 married John Henry Parnell, at that time an attaché of the British legation in Washington. She and her husband lived, for six years after their marriage, on the Parnell estate in County Wicklow, Ireland, and there was born her famous son, Charles Stewart Parnell, the great home-rule leader. In 1869, being then a widow, she inherited from her father his home at Bordentown, New Jersey, and lived there with her daughter. Her fortune, which at one time was ample, was lost through bad investments; her son Charles died after a disastrous loss of prestige; her daughter died; and it became known five or six years ago that she had come to want. Her necessities being for the time relieved, in April, 1895, she was knocked down by a footpad in Bordentown and nearly killed. After that she went back to Ireland to live with her surviving son, and has finally died, the newspapers tell us, from the effects of burns, a consequence of her clothing taking fire.

In her later years she was apparently a difficult person to live with, but no one who remembers her can doubt that very strong materials contributed to her make-up, and that from her and her father was inherited much of the tenacity and persistence, as well as of the strength and lucidity of mind, that made Charles Stewart Parnell the most effective of modern Irish leaders.

Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Roosevelt find themselves unable conscientiously to abet the development of journalism according to the ideas of William Hearst. Mr. Cleveland briefly declined to be a member of Mr. Hearst's *Maine* monument committee, on the ground of unwillingness to allow his sorrow to be perverted to the furtherance of an advertising scheme for Mr. Hearst's paper. Mr. Roosevelt, in exposing the untruth of a *Journal* "interview," has disclosed the opinion that the methods of that paper are infamous. Neither of these incidents is at all surprising. What is extraordinary is that the Hearst paper should be able to secure the passive co-operation of so many respectable men in its vainglorious purposes. As curiosities, Mr. Hearst and his property are somewhat successful, and, so far as known, they bear up well under the strain of constant exhibition. Both are believed to be in fair health, though temporarily somewhat hoarse from overmuch screeching in four-inch type.

The remark that "'Christian' is almost as loose and indefinite a word as 'gentleman'" strikes a courteous Boston reader as "demoralizing, both from a social and religious stand-point." The remark was made on this page of the WEEKLY anent a recent discussion in Boston as to whether Unitarians are Christians. The remonstrant aforesaid holds that "a Christian is one who believes in the divinity of Christ," whether he lives up to his belief or not, and that folks, however upright and good, who do not so believe are not Christians.

Many words have a technical meaning which is precise, and a larger significance which is based on usage. It may be that "Christian" ought to mean what our Boston correspondent says it does mean, but it seems hardly necessary to affirm that general usage (as well as the dictionaries) gives it a more comprehensive significance than that, and applies it to believers in Christ's doctrines as well as in His divinity, and, in general, to followers of Christ. What "Christian" means to the theologian is one thing; what it means to the philologist is another. That theologians should agree about it is not to be hoped for; but philologists, who are concerned only with the idea that the word conveys in talk or general literature, may reach satisfactory conclusions by the mere use of their ears and eyes and general faculties of observation.

It seems that the Massachusetts Legislature has determined to refer the question of who shall vote for Harvard overseers to the graduates who vote at present. On March 28 the legislators decided that if a majority of the academic alumni, the president and fellows, and the overseers should favor the extension of the suffrage to graduates of the professional schools, it should be so extended. This decision seems reasonable and fortunate, and if, as is likely, it results in giving the graduates of the schools a vote, none will have reasonable ground for complaint.

Thrifty persons who use postal cards should take care not to waste their pennies and incur the inconveniences of a lost message by lack of attention to the government order, "Write only the address on this side." To be sure, it has been ruled in Washington that the business of the person addressed may be indicated without causing the card to be thrown out, but there are other chances of exclusion to guard against. The Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* tells of an unfortunate patron of the post-office who wrote on a postal card bearing an important message, "Please deliver as addressed." The postal card was promptly rejected by the first official that saw it, and the message, of course, was not delivered. Yet the request was a necessary direction, indicating that the card that bore it was not to be forwarded. It appears, therefore, that postal cards, though useful for some purposes, are not as trustworthy as communications which bear the two-cent stamp. They have this drawback, also, that when they are thrown out the sender gets no notice of it.

Another postal device which sometimes defeats the end for which it is used is the special-delivery stamp. If a letter with one of these stamps on it gets to a post-office late in the evening, but before the office is closed, one attempt is made to deliver it; but if it fails, the letter goes into the mail, and its final delivery is apt to be later than if no ten-cent stamp was put on it. This is especially liable to happen in New York, where a letter mailed uptown for quick delivery downtown often reaches its destination after the downtown places of business are closed. Such a letter recently mailed to a downtown address, though marked, "Deliver in the morning," came to the place addressed about midnight, and, delivery failing at that time, finally reached the person addressed the following afternoon. A letter without the blue stamp would have beaten this record by at least five hours.

It is reported that M. Zola has agreed to come to the United States and deliver about fifteen lectures, relating probably to anti-semitism in France, and to the trials of Dreyfus and himself. The arrangement is asserted to have been made with Mr. Edmund Gerson, of New York, and to have followed immediately upon the decision of the French government to grant M. Zola an appeal from the sentence of imprisonment lately pronounced upon him. An interesting detail of this report is that a sum approaching $60,000 is promised to M. Zola for his visit. One could wish perhaps that that detail had been omitted. M. Zola would undoubtedly excite great interest here and would draw full houses, but he most interests Americans at present in his character, lately assumed, of patriot and protestant against prejudice and injustice, and interest based on grounds of that sort is hardly suitable for conversion into cash. It is possible, however, that his recent experiences have been costly, and that he has more than ordinary need of money.

Literature (London and New York) announces a series of articles by Mr. Henry James on "American Literature." Mr. James occupies a position that is in some respects exceptionally favorable for such discourses, since he is a looker-on at the game of American letters without having ceased to be a sharer in its hazards. He is an American writer, yet his later books are hardly American. An American writer of English books, we must call him, noticing as we do it that he is almost the only living writer whom such a description fits. Mr. Bret Harte is as much expatriated as Mr. James, but he has never ceased to write American books, and Mr. Harold Frederic follows the same practice. Analogously Mrs. Burnett, who lived long in America, writes English books. *Cœlum non animum* seems to be the rule with writers, with Mr. James for the exception, and with Mr. Marion Crawford for the outlying unclassified instance which doesn't count.

It was recorded the other day in the public prints that Mr. James had leased Lamb House, the seat of the Lamb family at Rye, in Sussex. It is described as a house abounding in history, with two panelled rooms and a walled garden. Georges I. and II. were entertained in it, and Rye is the cinque-port that figures in *Denis Duval*.

There are only two places in the world, and one of them is home. The other undeniably offers a great deal of variety; some parts of it are better than others, and the particular part that Mr. James has pitched upon must be one of the best. The man who has a little money and a self-supporting mind may live in delightful places, but the mind is quite as indispensable as the money.

Just as one gets himself nicely broken of the penny-paper habit, along comes some violent public agitation and drives him back into all his old excesses. For two months past it has been necessary to buy the day's history in instalments about as follows: In the morning, a three-cent and a two-cent paper for news, and a one-cent paper to see what sort of information the readers of the one-cent morning papers are getting. At noon, a one-cent paper to see if anything happened overnight. At three o'clock, two or three one-cent papers to compare reports and see if anything is really going on. At five or six o'clock, the latest one-cent papers to see if war has been declared. In the evening, a three-cent evening paper as a sedative. Nine or ten papers a day have answered for most readers, though many of us have had more. That is an excessive indulgence. It is worse than cigarettes, and nearly as bad as absinthe. If we should have the war which at this writing the very latest extra predicts, we shall have to adopt stringent measures of self-restraint, and take the news three or four times a day and no more, as we take food. Else, if hostilities should be at all prolonged, there won't be Lakewoods and Bloomingdales enough to hold us all.

What we all expected to read about this spring was the rush to the Klondike, and the adventures and experiences of the adventurers. There every one was going who wanted excitement, or could give a graphic description of what he saw. We expected to be interested in descriptions of aerial railroads, of road-building, of freight transportation, of the wild life of great camps, of lucky finds, the development of claims, and the exertions of capital, intelligence, and labor to make a rough arctic region habitable for man.

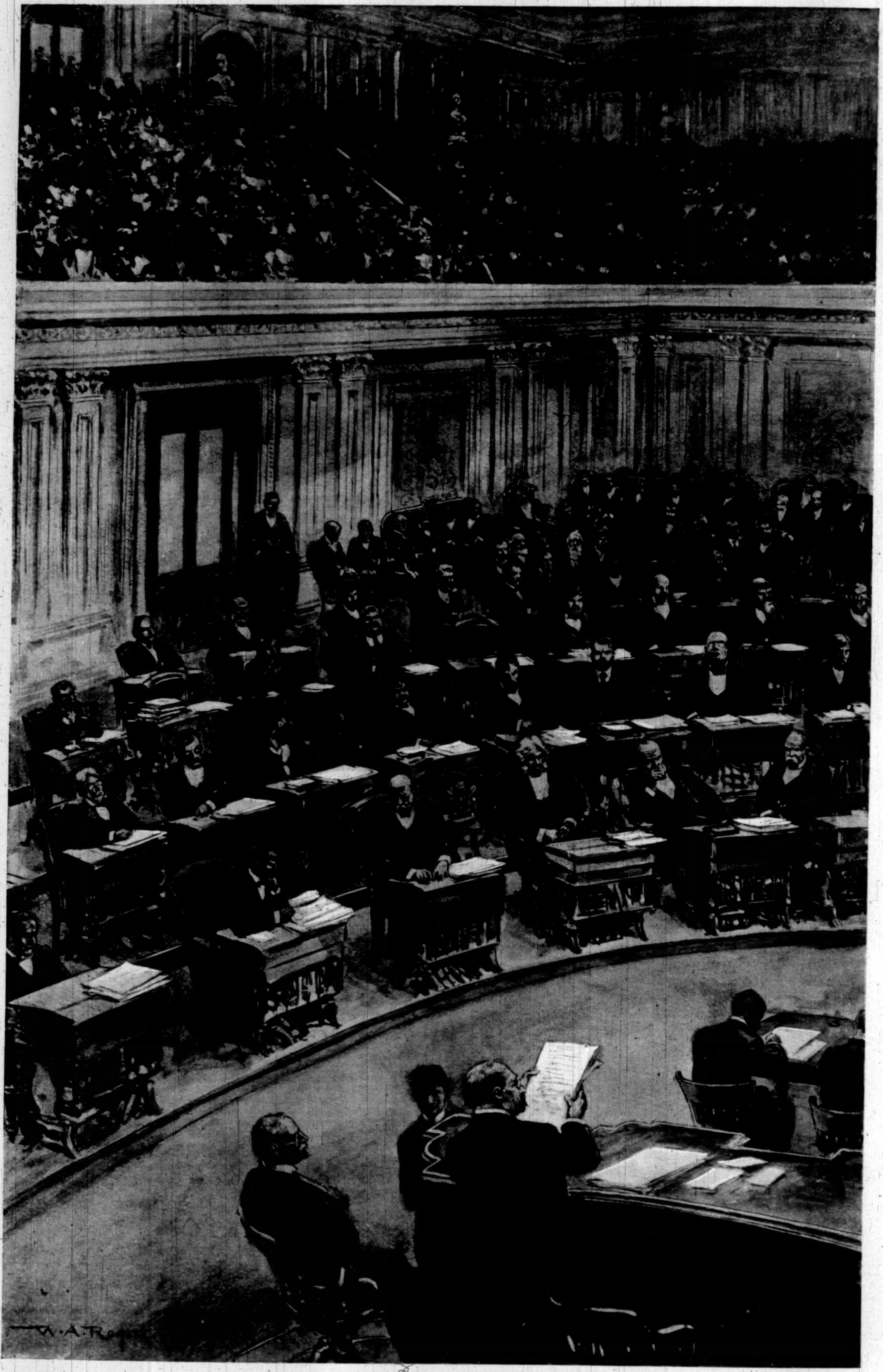
The rush has begun. All through March the Klondikers were trooping Westward in increasing numbers, but we hear little of them. Considerations of buried treasure are of surpassing interest in time of peace, but they cannot hold an audience when there is a prospect of a fight.

It is not too late to record the remarkable impression made upon his contemporaries by the late Morris Black, whose death about a month ago in Cleveland was publicly lamented by preachers in their pulpits, in resolutions adopted at a special meeting by the Bar Association of the city, and by a multitude of citizens who came to his funeral. He was a young man, twenty-nine years old, and a graduate of Harvard of the class of '91. He studied law, travelled abroad for a year, and starting to practise law in Cleveland, undertook seriously and steadfastly to do his duty as a citizen. In 1896 he was elected a member of the City Council, in which immediately he took a conspicuous and highly important place as a champion of good government. His efforts were so vigorous and effectual that after two years of public service his untimely death is recognized as a calamity. His record recalls the rapid development in public usefulness which marked the astonishing career of William E. Russell.

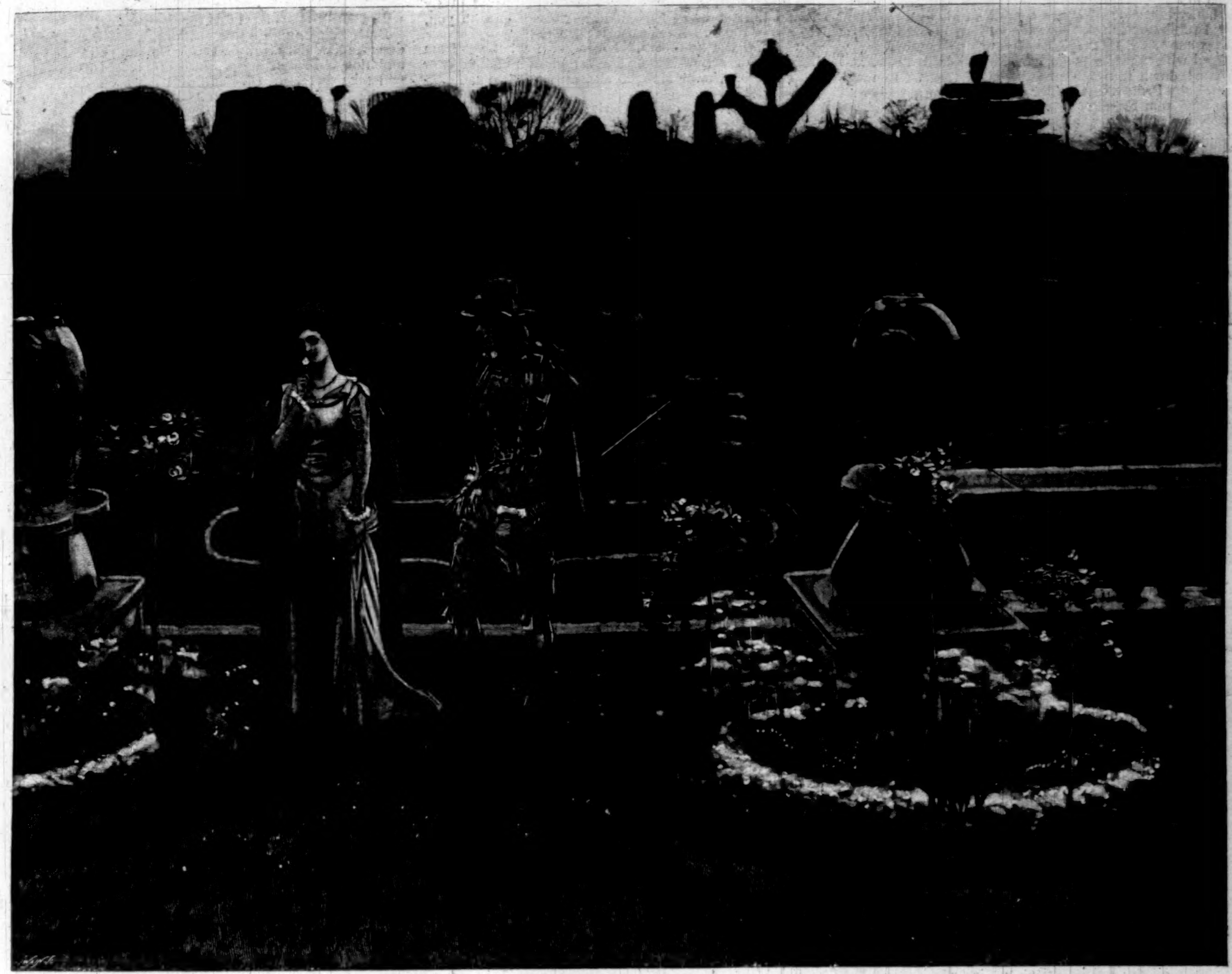
The inter-collegiate debate in New York, on the evening of March 25, between Columbia University and the University of Chicago, was of special note as being the first contest of the sort between representatives of an Eastern and a Western college. Heretofore, since the revival of interest in inter-collegiate debating, about six years ago, the contests have all been between neighbors. Yale, Harvard, and Princeton have disputed together; Cornell and Pennsylvania; Williams and Dartmouth; Michigan, Chicago, Wisconsin, and Northwestern universities; Stanford and the University of California—but not before last month have the West and the East met on the platform. Columbia won the other night, but the Chicago men gave a very good account of themselves, and pleased and edified their hearers.

On the same night Yale met Princeton, at Princeton. It was the fifth contest between them. Ex-President Cleveland presided, but did not prove an effectual mascot for the college of his choice, for the judges awarded the victory to Yale.

E. S. MARTIN.



IN THE SENATE, MARCH 25, 1898.
Reading the President's Message on the Destruction of the "Maine."—Drawn by W. A. Rogers.



THE RED AXE.*

BY S. R. CROCKETT,

AUTHOR OF "LOCHINVAR," "THE GRAY MAN," "THE STICKIT MINISTER," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED BY FRANK RICHARDS.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LOVES ME—LOVES ME NOT.

NOW how this plan of my Lord Prince's worked in the Palace of Plassenburg I find it difficult to tell without writing myself down a "painted flittermouse," as the Prince expressed it. I was in high favor with my master; well liked also by most of the hard-driving, rough-riding young soldiers whom the miller's son had made out of the sons of dead and damned Ritterdom. I got my share of honor and good service, too, in going to different courts and bringing back all that Prince Karl needed. To exercise myself in the art of war I hunted the border thieves and gave them short enough shrift. In a year I had made such an assault as that of the inn at Erdberg an impossibility all along the marches of our provinces.

The crusty old councillor, Leopold Dessauer, who had held office under the last Prince of the legitimate line, was ever ready to assist me with the kindest of deeds and the bitterest of words.

"What did I tell you about being Field-Marshal?" said he one day—"in Karl's kingdom the shorter the service, the higher the distinction. If you and the Prince live long enough, I shall see you carry a musketoon yet, and not one of the latest pattern, either. You will be promoted down, like a booby who has been raised by chance to the top of the class!"

"Well," said I, humbly, for I always reverenced age, "then I hope, High-Councillor Dessauer, that I shall carry my musketoon well!"

"I do not doubt it!" said he. "And that is the most hopeful thing I have seen about you yet. It is just possible, on the other hand, that you may yet rule and the Prince carry the piece."

"God forbid!" said I, heartily. For, next to my own father, of all men I loved the Prince.

"The Princess hath a pretty hand," remarked Dessauer, casually.

"I' faith, yes!" said I. "What have you been at to find out that?"

"Weak—weak!" he said, shaking his head. "I fear you will wreck on that rock. It is your blind peril."

"My blind peril!" cried I. "What may that be, High Councillor?"

"Ah, lad," he said, smiling with that wise, all-patient smile which the aged affect when they intend to be impressive, yet know how useless is their wisdom, "it was never intended by the Almighty that any man should have eyes all round his head. That was why He fixed two in front, and made them look straight forward. That is also why He made him a little lower (generally a good deal lower) than the angels!"

I heard him as if I heard him not.

"You do me the honor to follow me?" he said, looking at me. He was, I think, conscious that my eyes wandered to the door, for indeed I was expecting the Little Playmate down every minute.

"Ah! yes, you follow indeed," he said, bitterly; "but it is the flirt of farthingales down the turret steps. No matter! As I was saying, every man has his blind peril. He can see the thousand. He provides laboriously against them. He blocks every avenue of risk, he locks every dangerous door, and, lo! there is the thousand-and-first right before him, yawning wide open, which he does not see—his Blind Peril!"

"And which, High-Councillor Dessauer, is my blind peril?"

"I will tell you, Hugo," he said; "not that you will believe or alter a hair. A man may do many things in this world, but one thing he cannot do. He cannot kiss the fingers of a Princess—dainty fingers, too, separating finger from finger—and kiss also the Princess's maid of honor on the mouth. The combination is certainly entertaining, but it is somewhat explosive."

"And how," asked I, "may you know all that?"

The old man nodded his head sagely.

"Neither by ink-pool nor yet by scrying. All the same, I know. Moreover, your peril is not a blind peril only, but a blind man's peril. Ye must choose, and that quickly, little son—fingers or lips."

I heard the rustle of a skirt down the stair. It was the light springing tread of the one I loved first and best, last and only. "By the twelve gods, lips!" cried I, and made for the door.

And I heard the chuckling laughter of High-Councillor Dessauer behind me as I followed Helene down the stairs. It sounded like the decanting of mellow wine, long hidden in darksome cellars, and now bringing to the light the smiling of ancient vineyards and the shining of forgotten suns.

I found Helene arrived before me in the rose-garden. She did not turn round as I came, though she heard me well enough. Instead she walked on, plucking at a marguerite.

"Loves me—loves me *not!*" she said, bearing upon the last word with triumphant accent, as she continued to dismantle the poor flower.

And flashing round upon me with the solitary petal in her hand, she presented it with a low bow, in elvish mockery of the manner of the court exquisite.

"Ah, true flower!" she said, apostrophizing the bare stalk; "a flower cannot lie. It has not a glosing tongue. It cannot change back and forth. The sun shines. It turns towards the sun. The sun leaves the skies. It shuts itself up and waits his return. Ah, true flower, dear flower, how unlike a man you are!"

"Helene," said I, "you have learned conceits from the catch-books. You quarrel by rote. Were I as eager to answer me, I might say: 'Ah, false flower, you grow out of the foulness underneath. You give your fragrance to all without discretion—a common lover, prodigal of favors, fit only to be torn to pieces of pretty spiteful fingers, and to die at last with a lie in your mouth. Again I say false flower!'"

"You can turn the corners, Sir Juggler, with words," answered Helene. "So much they have already taught you in a court. But there is one thing that your fine-feathered tutors have not taught you—to make love to two women in one house and hide it from both of them. Hot and cold come too near each other. They will mix and make lukewarm of both."

A wise observation, and one that I had made myself.

"May the devil take all princes and princesses!" I began, as I had done to the Prince himself.

Helene shook her head.

"Hugo," she said, "I was but a simpleton when I came hither, and knew nothing. Now I am wise, and I know!"

She touched her forehead with her finger, just where the curls were softest and prettiest.

"Oh, you have learned to be thrice more beautiful than ever you were!" I said, impetuously.

"So I am often told," answered she, calmly.

"Who dared tell you?" cried I, quick as fire, laying my hand on my sword.

"The false common flowers by the way-side tell me!" said Helene, pertly.

"Let them beware, or I will take their heads off for rank weeds!" I answered.

For at that time, in the Court of Plassenburg, we talked in figures and romance words. We had indeed become so familiar with the mode that we could use no other, even in times of earnestness. So that a man would go to be hanged or married with a conceit on his lips.

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* Begun in HARPER'S WEEKLY No. 2141.

"I think, Sir Janus," she said, "that you would not be the worse of a little medicine of your own concocting."

And with that she swept her skirts daintily about and tripped down into the pleasaunce of flowers, to make which the Prince Karl had brought a skilled gardener all the way from France.

I prowled moodily about the higher terrace, moodily watching the sky and thinking on the morrow's weather. And by-and-by I saw one come forth from among the cropped Dutch hedges and stride across to where Helene walked with a flower in her hand. I could see her again picking a flower to pieces, and methought I could hear the words. My jealous fancy conjured up the ending: "Loves me not—loves me! Loves me not!"

She turned even as she had done to me. It was that sneering court fop, the Count von Reuss, Duke Casimir's nephew—still in hiding from the wrath of his uncle. For at that time hardly any court in Germany was without one or two of these hangers-on, and a bad, reckless, ill-contriving breed they were at Plassenburg, as elsewhere.

Then grew my heart hard and bitter, and yet in a moment afterwards was only wistful and sad.

"She had been safer," thought I, "in the old Red Tower than playing flower fancies with such a man."

I had seen the very devil look out of his eye—which, indeed, it did as often as he cast it on a fair woman. In especial I longed to throttle him each time he turned to watch Helene as she went by. And here she was walking with him, and talking pleasantly too, in the rose-garden of the palace.

"Ah, devil take all princes and princesses!" said I. This one, it is true, was only a count and disinherited. But I felt that this was the Prince's doing, and that it was for the sake of the covenant he had made with me that I had to put up with such a toad as von Reuss crawling and besliming the fair garden of my love.

It was an evening without clouds—everything shining clear after rain, the scent of the flowers rising like incense so full and sweet that you could almost see it. The unnumbered birds were every one awake, responsive and emulous. The silence of midsummer was broken up. It was like another spring.

The Princess Ysolinde came out to take the air. She was wrapped in her gown of sea-green silk, with the sparkles of dull copper upon it. The dress fitted her like a snake's skin, and glittered like it too, as she swayed her lithe body in walking.

"Ha, Hugo!" she said, "I thought I should find you here!"

I did not say that if another had been kinder she might have found me elsewhere and otherwise employed. I had the discretion to leave things as they were. For the time to speak plainly was not yet.

She took my arm, and we paced up and down.

"Princess—" I began.

"Ysolinde," corrected she, softly.

It was an old and unsettled contention between us.

"Well, then, Ysolinde, to-morrow must I ride to fight the men of mine own country of the Wolfmark. I like not the duty. But since it must be, for the sake of the brave Prince, it shall be well done."

"You do not say, 'For your sake, Ysolinde'?" she answered, pensively.

"No;" I said, "For the Prince's sake."

"You would do all things for the Prince's sake—nothing for mine!" said the Princess, withdrawing her hand.

"On the contrary, Lady Ysolinde," I made answer, "I do all things for your sake. Save for the sake of your good-will I should now be elsewhere."

Which was true enough. I should have been in the garden pleasaunce beneath, and probably with my sword out, arguing the case with von Reuss.

But she pressed my arm, for she understood that I had delayed a day from my duty for her sake. So touched at heart was Ysolinde that she slipped her hand down from my arm and took my hand instead, flirting a corner of her shawl cleverly over both, to hide the fact from the men-at-arms, as Helene could not have done to save her life. But every maid of honor who passed noted and knew, lifting eyebrows at one another, I doubt not, as soon as we passed, which thing made me feel like a fool and blush hotly. For I knew that ere they were couched that night every maid of them would tell Helene, and with pleasure in the tale too.

"Devil take—" I began, and stopped.

"What did you say?" asked Ysolinde, almost tenderly.

"That if I come not back again from the Wolfmark it will be the better for all of us!" I made answer, which was indeed the sense, if not the exact text of my remark.

"Nay," she said, shuddering; "not better for me that am companionless."

"Why so?" said I, boldly. "You do not love me. Deep at the bottom of your heart you love your husband, Karl the Prince. You know there is no man like him. Me you do not love at all."

"You will not let me," she said, softly, almost like a shy country maiden.

"Ah, if I had, you would have slain me long ere this," said I, "for I read you like a child's hornbook that he plays battledore with. 'Have not—love! Have—hate!' There you are, all in brief, my Lady Ysolinde."

"It is false," laughed she; "but I love greatly to hear you call me Ysolinde."

She netted her fingers in mine beneath the shawl. Well might the High Councillor say that she had a beautiful hand. Though, God wot, much he knew about it. For Ysolinde of Plassenburg could speak with her hand, love with it, be angry with it, hate with it—and kill with it.

"I am an experiment," said I; "one that has lasted you a little longer than the others, my Lady Ysolinde, only because you have not come to the end of me so soon."

"Pshaw!" she said, pushing me from her—for we were at the turning of a path; "you love another. That is the amulet against infection that you carry. Yet sometimes I think that that other is only your hateful, plain-favored, vainly conceited self!"

I saw the Prince sit alone, according to his custom, in an arbor behind us at that very moment, and judge ye if I blushed or no. But the Princess saw him not, being eager upon her flouting of me.

"I tell you," she cried, scornfully and disdainfully, "there is nothing interesting about you but the blueness of your eyes, and that any monk can make, and deeper and bluer, with his lapis lazuli. An experiment? Why should I, Ysolinde of Plassenburg, experiment with you, the son of the Red Axe of the Wolfsberg?"

"Nay, that I know not," I answered; "but yet I am indeed your arrow butts, your target of practice, your whipping-boy, to be slung at and arrow-drilled and bullet-pitted!"

"I dare say," she said, bitterly; "and all the time you go scatheless—no more heart-stricken than if summer flies lighted on thee. Away with such a man; he is the ghost of a man—a simulacrum—no true lover!"

"At your will, Princess. I go indeed away. I will to-morrow seek the spears. But, after all, you will not send me forth in anger?" I said, with a strong conviction that I knew the answer.

"And why not?" said she.

"Because," I replied, looking at her, "I am, after all, the one man who believes thoroughly in your heart's deep inward goodness. I believe in you even when you do not believe in yourself. I can affirm, for I know better than you know yourself. You cover the beauty of your heart from others. You flout and jeer. Above all, you experiment dangerously with words and actions. But, after all, I am necessary to you. You will not send me away in anger. For you need some one to believe in the soundness of your heart. And I, Hugo Gottfried, am that man!"

"Hence, flatterer!" cried the lady, smiling, but well pleased. "It is known to all that I am the old serpent—the deceiver—the ill fruit of the Knowledge of Evil. And now you say of Good also! And what is more and worse, you expect me to believe you. Wherein you also experiment! I pray you, do not so. That is to you the forbidden fruit. Good-night, and go pray for a more truthful tongue!"

And with that she went in, the copper spangles glancing at her wrist, red as the light on ripe wheat, and all her tall figure lissome as the bending corn.

CHAPTER XXX.

INSULT AND CHALLENGE.

Now, because there is still so much to tell, and so little time and space to tell it, I must go forward rapidly. In these dull times of grouting peace, when men are like penned pigs, waking up only at feeding-time, they have no knowledge of how swiftly life went in times when every day brought a new living friend or a new dead enemy, when love and hate awakened fresh and fresh with each morrow's sun—and when I was young.

Perhaps that last is the reason. But when the Baltic Norther snorts without and mine ancient thigh wound twinges down where my hand rests naturally, I have no better resource but to fall to the goose-quill. And, lo! long ere I am done with the first page, and have the ink no more than half-way to the roots of my hair, I am again in the midst of the ringing hoofs of the foray. I hear the merry dinting of steel on steel; the sullen *chug-chug* of the wheels of Foul Peg, the Margrave's great cannon, which he lent our Prince; the oaths of the men-at-arms shouldering her up, apostrophizing most indecently her fat haunches, and the next moment getting tossed aside like ninepins by her unexpected lurches. Ah, the times that were when I was young!

I see these gallants about our later courts—Lord help them, sons of mine own, too, some of them, year in and year out, crossing their legs and staring at the gilded points of their shoon. All has grown so tame—none now to ride a-questing in the Baltic forest for border brigands—indeed, no brigands to quest for.

But I forget. Time was when I looked love, and I too had shoes—aye, with golden tips to match the armor of honor which the Prince gave me after I had led my first regiment to victory, even as the Lady Ysolinde had said. And noble shoes of price they were, too.

And I could make love, too, when I had the chance. But, nevertheless, not more than one day in six—spending the rest in the new training of my men, the perfection of their equipment, the choosing of their horses, and the providing for their stores.

God wot—it was a good time. I mind me the year when the Prince fell out with Duke Casimir, and we played the old tricks with him.

Never was I gladder of any quest than that to ride within sight of the Red Tower and wave the blue and yellow of my master under the very ramparts of the Wolfsberg, and almost within hearing of the inhuman howling of the blood-hounds.

"Singe his beard!" said my master. And with a hundred riders I did it, too, for though the burghers clattered to their gates, I rode to the very walls of the Wolfsberg, which for bravado I summoned to surrender. And the best of it was that no man knew me. For I had grown bearded and strong, and was most unlike the lad who had ridden away so meekly and almost in tears out of the gate of the Wolfsberg.

Of my father, thank God, I saw nothing—though I doubt not he saw my troop. For doubtless he would be with his master—aged now, soured, and prone to cower about, fearing the dagger or the poisoned bowl, seeing an enemy in every shadowy corner, and hearing the whistle of the assassin's bullet in every wind.

And save when an honest burgher was slain by the Black Riders, the beasts of the kennels were fed on diet more ordinary than of old.

So we rode back with our prisoners, and as much plunder as we could screw out of old Burgomeister Texel and his burghers by threats of sacking the city—a deed which I was main sorry for afterwards, in the light of that which happened at a later day. But I knew not the future then, and it was as well. For the gilders paid nobles for the new-fashioned ordnance which stood us in such stead that autumn, when we had sterner work in hand than singeing the gray beard of Duke Casimir.

Within Schloss Plassenburg things went on much as usual. Perhaps I was lax in my wooing—I cannot tell—I loved sincerely enough, of a certainty. Nor was I backward in telling Helene of it, and sometimes she would love me well enough, and then again she would not. So that I could not tell what she would be at.

Looking back upon everything now, I see well enough how the rankling secret thorn was the accursed understanding with the Prince, that for his peace's sake I was to be friendly with the Princess and let her try her fool experiments on me. Which she did, God wot, innocently enough—that is, for all the harm they did me. But, nevertheless, without knowing it, I kept the Little Playmate with a sore and aching heart for many a day.

But I made nothing of it—thinking, like a careless, ill-deserving soldier-lover, eager for success and dazed with ambition, chiefly of my profession, of how to win battles and take fortresses, till one day I came on Helene with her cheeks wet and her pretty lips bitten till the blood came.

"What is't, little one? Tell me!" said I, going to her, and putting my arm about her, as indeed I had some right to do, if no more than the right of having carried her up into the Red Tower in her white gown so long ago.

But she wrested herself out of my hold, saying: "Do not touch me, sir. 'Tis all your fault!"

"What is my fault, dear lass?" said I. "Tell me, and I will instantly amend it."

"Oh!" she cried, casting her hands out from her in bitter complaint, "there is nothing so meanly selfish as a man! He will say tender things—aye, and do them too, when it liketh him. He can be, oh, so devoted and so full of his eternal affections. He is dying all for love. And then, soon as he passes out of the door, he ties his sword-knot and points his mustache to his liking, and, lo! there is no more of him. He goes, and straightway forgets, till it shall please his High Mightiness to call again. Oh! and we—we women, poor things, must stand with our mouths open like mossy carp in a pond, and struggle and push for such crumbs of comfort as he will deign to throw us from the full larder of his self-satisfaction!"

This was a most mighty speech for the Little Playmate, and took me entirely by surprise. For mostly she was still enough and quiet enough in her ways.

"'Tis true, sweetheart, that some men are like this, but not Hugo Gottfried, surely. When did you ever find me unkind, unthankful, unfaithful? When went I ever away and left you alone?"

"Oh, you did—you did," she cried, the tears starting from her lovely eyes, "or I should never have been insulted—treated lightly, spoken to as a staled thing of courts and camps!"

And Helene sank down by the garden wall in an abandonment of sorrow—so that my heart grew hot and angry at the cause of her grief, to me then unknown.

I knelt down beside her.

"Dearest," said I, "I knew nothing of this. Tell me who has insulted you? As God is in His heaven, I will have my sword in his heart, were it the Prince himself. Tell me, and by the Lord of the Innocents, I will make him eat cold steel and drink his own blood therewith."

"Oh, it was my own fault—I know I should not have met him—let him speak to me in the garden. But you were so cold to me, Hugo. And then I thought—I thought that the Woman was taking you away from me. Also she sent me out to be in his path!"

"In whose way, I bid you tell me, and what woman?" Though the latter I knew well enough.

"The Princess," she answered, "and the Count von Reuss. To-day he spoke to me of love, and spoke it hatefully, shamefully; when the Princess had bidden me go and carry her message to him. But it was with me that he desired to meet. And I—at first many days ago—I walked by his side and listened. For you were on the high terrace, and I wished you to see. I thought—I hoped—"

And the little one broke off with tears.

"I know, I know," cried I, contritely; "I am a blind, doting fool. I thought no more of such dangers than when I had you safe and innocent, my Playmate of the Red Tower. But what did or said von Reuss?"

"Truly he did naught, but only spoke—things for which I would have smitten him to death had I possessed a dagger. I bade him begone. And he swore he would have me yet in spite of every town's Executioner in the Empire."

"Ah, will he?" said I, a calm chill of hatred settling about my heart. "I, Hugo Gottfried, will execute him if I have to send for my father's Red Axe to do it with—singed and scented monkey that he is."

"Nay," said Helene, "then I wish I had not told you. Perhaps he will not meddle with me more, and if you cross him he may slay thee. Remember I have no friend here but you, Hugo!"

"Caspar von Reuss slay me! I could eat him up without salt or savory—a weak reed, a kerl without backbone, save of buckram. Why, I will shake him this day like a rat between my hands."

So I spoke in my anger, hot with myself that I had let the Little Playmate suffer these things, and resolved that neither Prince nor Princess would stand between me and my love a moment longer.

But it takes more than Say-so to budge the stubborn wheels of circumstance.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

CUBA.

CONCENTRATION, STARVATION, AND AMERICAN RELIEF.

THE order of concentration issued by General Weyler to the island of Cuba in October, 1896, and the far-reaching misery and death resulting therefrom, should be considered, first, as a military move with a view to bringing about the discomfiture and defeat of the rebels; secondly, as an inhuman and bloodthirsty effort to blot out a people by starvation. The order could have been made effective for the first purpose without bringing hundreds of thousands of people to death by starvation and disease. But the fact that it was not thus interpreted leaves little doubt as to the real purpose of the order.

Before the issuing of this order of concentration the Spaniards in Cuba were confronted with conditions which rendered their operations against the insurgents always difficult and often ineffective. The insurgents went then, as now, in small bands; they were thoroughly familiar with the land, and they could always count upon the help, guidance, and sympathy of the greater number of the country people. If a Spanish column started to run down a rebel band, word of this movement was passed through the country, from farm-house to farm-house, by hurrying and eager messengers, until the rebels were informed of the Spanish approach, and thus given time to escape. And the same people who notified the rebels misled the Spaniards with false information as to roads and directions.

The insurgents could count on food, clothing, and horses from their sympathizers; they were hidden by them when close pressed by the Spaniards; they were aided in many ways, at all hours. The rebel abettors worked against the Spanish and for the Cubans whenever opportunity offered. These country people declared themselves neutral—pacificos—and considered themselves exempt from persecution by the Spanish because they took no active part in the fighting.

It must not be thought that all the country-side was in sympathy with the rebels, or that there were no country people who were neutral and peaceful; of these latter there were, of course, many; but the rebel helpers were sufficiently numerous and active to render Spain's warfare both trying and ineffectual.

Under these circumstances, an order that would serve to make the people of the island declare their position, that would separate the rebels from those loyal to Spain, was a proper military measure. It was fair to say to these people. "Go out and fight if you are rebels; if you are not, let us know it." So the order for the concentration of the country people into the towns and villages was issued.

The thorough application of this measure required about three months. In January, 1897, the country was pretty well cleared. The insurgents no longer had the help of friends in the field. The country was free of houses and buildings that would hide the enemies of Spain, for the thatch huts of the farmers had been stripped of roofs and walls, and fires blazed by night and by day, completing the destruction. The enforcing of this order gave opportunity, to those who carried it out, for cruelty, vandalism, and abuse that it is not my purpose to describe. Much has been already written thereon, but it is doubtful if the full story of the barbarity and fiendish inhuman cruelty practised upon the defenceless people, mostly old men, women, and children, who were driven from their homes by men bearing the arms of Spain, will ever be written. Much crime was committed that remains unknown except to the perpetrators. One can hear numberless tales of abuse and cruelty; careful examination into their truth so often brings conviction that the task becomes odious.

If, from the time these country people were concentrated in towns and villages, Spain had provided for them, or had made it possible for them to earn a scant living from the fields, the concentration order would be without its worst stigma. But this was not done. Many of the reconcentrados came to the towns with absolutely nothing—no food, no clothing, no farming implements or household utensils. Others brought what they could hurriedly lay their hands on. Some came well provided. For a time they existed on their own resources, and then on the resources of the towns into which they had been driven. But it can readily be seen that these ways of support would soon become exhausted. Whereupon Spain, to remedy the difficulty, inaugurated the zones of cultivation. Theoretically this idea was good, but it failed in its application.

Around each village, outside the wire fence and the guarded ditch that marked the limits to which the inhabitants were allowed to walk, were allotted fields to be cultivated by the reconcentrados for their own support. If these fields had been large enough to support the people within the towns they surrounded, if the people had been given the facilities with which to work them, such as implements and seeds, if they had been aided and not abused by the men locally in authority, many lives would have been saved. But the ground allotted was never sufficient; no tools or seeds were supplied. It is true that they were offered for sale at exorbitant prices by the Spanish storekeeper of the village, who in many cases was also mayor. But can the six-month reconcentrado be expected to have money? So it was that in many instances the mayor and the military commander, or men having equal advantages of position and power, acquired much of this land intended for the relief of the half-starved reconcentrados, and put it down in tobacco and cane for their own profit, giving some few of the reconcentrados a small daily wage to work in their fields.

Consider the case of the military comandante of a certain small town, who is a humane and kind man. He tried in vain to have the cultivated zones extended. His efforts to procure seed and implements for his people were futile; he worked unceasingly for the good of those in his town, but with no result. Finally he was severely reprimanded from headquarters, being asked if he had not perception enough to see the object of his superiors in this order of concentration, and being given to understand that his efforts to frustrate this object were unwelcome.

So the famine in the towns increased and the country remained depopulated. Until during the months of October, November, and December of 1897, nine months after the fulfilment of the concentration order, the most appalling reports of death by starvation, and from diseases that meant starvation, became current. During these months the death-lists were largest. A few examples will suffice to give an idea of the situation. The figures I use were obtained in February and March, 1898. I was informed again and again, as I made my inquiries, that the condition of these people was infinitely better at the time of my investigation than it had been some three or four months before. Upon my asking why this was so, I was invariably told that so many of the starving had already died that there was consequently more food for the remainder.

Güines—

Population of village, January, 1897		6,000
Number of reconcentrados sent to village		9,000
		15,000
Deaths in Güines, from January 1 to December 1, 1897		6687
Deaths in Güines in 1894	448	
" " " " 1895	537	
" " " " 1896	824	

San Nicolas—

Population of village before order of concentration	1500
Reconcentrados in village on January 5, 1897	4000
	5500
Deaths in San Nicolas from January 5 to November 26, 1897	1142

Madruga—

Population before order of concentration	2289
Number of reconcentrados sent to village	5833
	8122
Deaths in Madruga from January to November 1, 1897	2751

Jaruco, province of Matanzas—

Number of reconcentrados sent to this town	6070
Deaths among reconcentrados, until December 31, 1897	3475

The above figures are taken from official Spanish sources.

The little hamlet of Chascajaba, in July, 1897, had a population of 250 people. In October of the same year five out of this number were living—three of whom were children—four of whom died shortly after removal. Chascajaba will need new farmers to work her fields.

In the province and city of Matanzas the mortality has been great, and the suffering and misery beyond words. This province is almost entirely given over to the cultivation of sugar.

A Spanish paper of Matanzas printed, under censorship, on November 23, 1897, the following statement: "From the 1st of January of this year until yesterday, Nov. 22, there died in this city, that has not 50,000 inhabitants, including the reconcentrados, 5166 people; let our readers make their own comments upon this fact."

I am assured by men in Matanzas who know the facts that from January 1, 1897, until March, 1898, the total number of deaths in Matanzas city was between ten and eleven thousand.

The *Diario de la Marina*, of Havana, printed on December 27, 1897, the following censored statement: "Of the 99,312 persons concentrated in the province of Matanzas there have died from epidemics, inahition, and hunger 20,044, and the mortality in this province of Matanzas is not so great as in certain others."

There were at one time in 1897 some 12,000 reconcentrados in Matanzas city. In the month of November, 1897, there died in two certain districts of this city, namely, district of the Palace and district of the Market—1200 people, while the births in these same districts during that month amounted to 38. In December of 1897 there were 1200 deaths in this suffering city, and one day during this month our consul counted eight dead bodies in the streets.

I have before me a list of towns in different parts of the island, giving number of reconcentrados admitted therein since the issuing of the order, and the number of deaths in each village up to December, 1897. The proportion of deaths to number of reconcentrados varies from one-fifth to over one-half. The statistics in this list are from official Spanish sources.

I visited Matanzas on March 2, 1898. That day there were twelve thousand people in the city suffering from want of food, and by far the greater part of these were women and children. The men to be seen were old, or else wretchedly ill. The only recourse of these starving thousands was begging, and Matanzas had so long been subject to these demands of the poor that the good people of the city were rapidly nearing the end of their own means. There existed in Matanzas on this day four hospitals, entirely supported by voluntary offerings of private individuals still able to give. These hospitals contained less than three hundred people who were fed with more or less regularity; and this hospital work was absolutely all that was being done in Matanzas on that day in the way of organized aid to the starving. I visited Caridad Hospital on March 2 at 2 P.M. On the morning of March 1 this hospital had one hundred and four inmates; sixteen died during that day, and four up to the time of my visit on the 2d. Details similar to the foregoing can be procured without end. The few already set down will show some results of General Weyler's concentration order.

The population of the island of Cuba in normal times is estimated at 1,160,000. Various estimates of total number of deaths by starvation have been made; they vary from 400,000 to 500,000. It should be remembered that in Cuba it is always possible to procure exact data concerning deaths when interment has been in consecrated ground; but during these last years thousands have been buried in ditches and trenches, and no record of their numbers has been kept.

In November, 1897, General Blanco, who followed Weyler as Captain-General of Cuba, issued his modification of the concentration order, with the alleged intention of mitigating the evils. He proposed to allow the imprisoned people access to the idle lands surrounding them, to extend the zones of cultivation, to straighten out existing wrongs. His intentions were perhaps excellent, but their application was weak. It was not sufficient to order the various military chiefs to allow the reconcentrados to go to the fields. Let us look at the situation from the stand-point of the reconcentrado. He was weakened by months of malnutrition and half-starvation; he was worn out with disease; he was penniless; he was without tools and seeds, and his women folk and children were ill and starving also. With permission to return to the country and take up his old life, this is what would confront him upon arrival there: a ruined and burned home, sixty days to wait before the ground would give him a mouthful to eat, and the ever-present danger to himself and family of death, violence, and abuse at the hands of the uncontrolled bands of guerillas that roam the country. Most of these starving families, moreover, consisted solely of women and children. Few of the reconcentrados ventured back into the country. If a naked child were placed within a fenced field and told to subsist on what the ground produced and could be made to produce by his efforts, the situation of this child would be similar to that of the reconcentrado in Cuba if he were actually allowed to go to the country. When it is learned that many of the Spanish military commanders of villages and towns favored Weyler and his plans and method of extermination, that to their belief his was the only way to end the war, and that in many cases Blanco's modification order was disregarded, it will then be understood why practically none of the reconcentrados returned to their old life. It is almost impossible to learn of an authentic case of this having been done.

Cases innumerable can be quoted where men have asked in vain to be allowed to return to the country. In a certain town sixteen men were seeking permission to go out and begin work on their farms. After three weeks' delay this permission was granted to one of the sixteen applicants, an American citizen. This man borrowed fifty dollars to buy tools and provisions, took eight men with him, and repaired to his old farm, some ten miles away, and began to make charcoal. He personally brought down his first load for sale. Upon finishing this business he started to return, but was stopped. No explanation was given; he was simply told he could not go back. His workmen waited for him until their food was exhausted, and then made their way back into town as best they could. This was the end of his effort to provide for his family.

It is stated, and it appears to be a fact in the towns that came under my notice, that the reconcentrados are allowed to leave the confines for the day, but they must always return at night. If this liberty were accorded in all villages, and the people were given the use of tools and supplied with seeds, much good would surely result. But tools and seeds they have not, and their efforts to obtain food from the country are necessarily limited; they dig for edible roots, they snare birds, and they gather firewood. At all times those who thus venture forth are in danger of death or abuse from the guerillas and insurgents.

As a result of the Blanco modification, the cultivated zones have, to a certain limited degree, been augmented, and the benefit derived from this cultivated land to the remaining reconcentrados is increased by the fact that today there are far fewer mouths to feed than formerly. But even now the zones are miserably insufficient. Spaniards have told me they could not be extended, because, were this done, they could not then be protected from the depredations of the rebels. This may be generally true—in some cases I know it to be a fact—but it only goes to show how little of the country is actually under Spanish control.

The above was the condition of the Cuban reconcentrados when the American relief began to arrive in the island. This American relief, sent by our people for the Cubans, must not be confused with the $50,000 appropriation of Congress for the relief of American citizens in Cuba, the good effects of which have been active since May, 1897. It is said that seventeen hundred Americans have been very materially aided by this fund. Many of these Americans are naturalized citizens, and cannot speak our language. It has been sufficient for them to prove citizenship to receive aid, and it is doubtful if any one who has had this distribution in hand has desired to discriminate against these sufferers because they were not natural-born citizens of our country. Our consul in Matanzas has fed three hundred and five American citizens out of this fund since May 24, 1897. Out of this number six only have died. The rations served out were ample, and while three hundred and five people were actually on the lists, Consul Brice tells me that some weeks twice that number have been fed by the relief, those fortunate enough to be eligible dividing with relatives and friends.

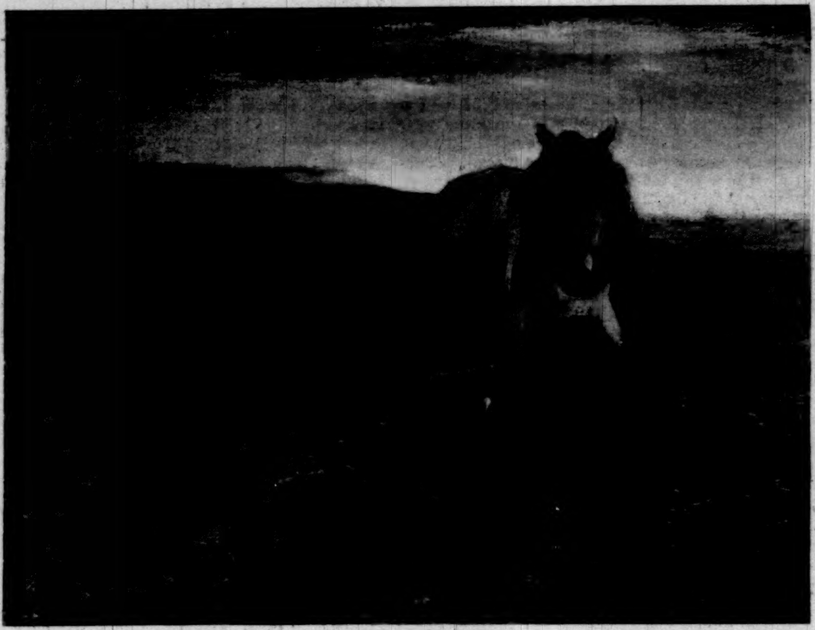
There is on record but one case of violence among the starving of Matanzas city. In October, 1897, some five hundred of the reconcentrado women were put to work by the mayor at filling in with sand a morass on the outskirts of the city. Their wage was ten cents a day to each woman. When the work was finished the women went in a body to the mayor, asking him what was to become of them now that the morass was filled in and they had no more money. "I'm sure I don't know," answered the mayor. The women were persistent in their demands for work or food, and the mayor was alarmed at this new feature of the question. Finally he suggested, in a moment of weakness, that the city market was full—let them help themselves there. He was taken at his word; in a body the women moved on the surprised market-men. Their strength was in their numbers, and they thoroughly cleared out the stalls before the surprised venders could put up the shutters or drive them away.

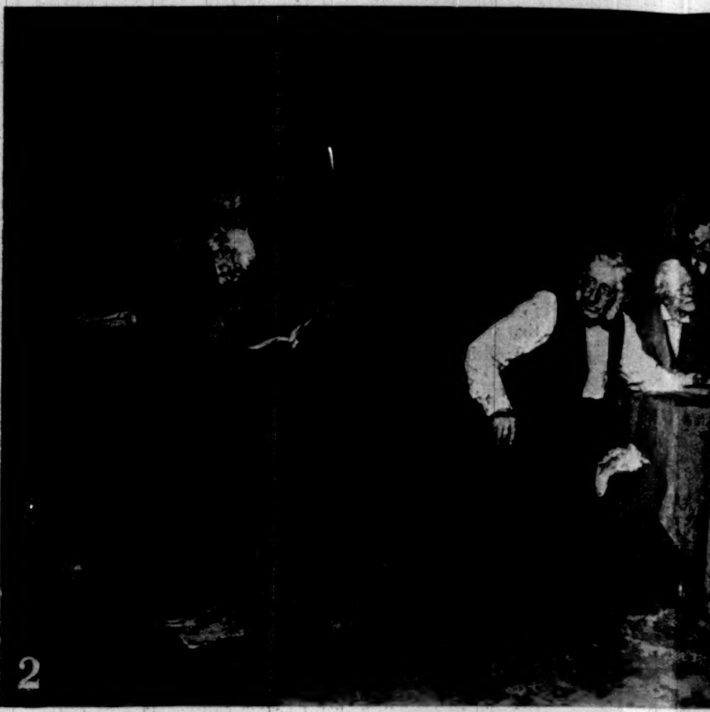
The American relief to the reconcentrados that, through the agency of charitable organizations and newspapers, is now being sent to the island will do much to relieve the suffering. Excellent methods for the distribution of this relief have been perfected by Mr. Louis Klopsch, of the *Christian Herald*, and they are now in full operation. Mr. Klopsch has obtained reliable reports from over four hundred towns and villages in the island, setting forth the number of inhabitants of each place and the number of the starving; also notes as to how the smaller places can be reached, railroad and distribution facilities, etc. Upon the receipt of the relief in Havana, it has been despatched without the loss of an unnecessary hour. The allowance of food was one pound a day, for ten days, to each sufferer. On March 25 twenty-three car-loads of food left Havana. Each town and village on the lists will be visited, soon after the delivery of the food, by representatives of those having the distribution of the relief in hand. These representatives will perfect arrangements for distribution, correct errors in the original lists, and be generally active in the field. During the week of March 27 the efforts of Mr. Klopsch in this direction resulted, judging from the reliable reports at present obtainable, in the feeding of from seventy-five to one hundred thousand people for ten days. Relief from this country promises to be ample. It is estimated that there are two hundred and twenty-five thousand people in Cuba to-day who are suffering for want of food.

But with all that is being done, with the active work of many good people in the field, and the almost unlimited means our country promises to place in their hands, many thousands will die in Cuba during the next few months from the effects of starvation. For there are thousands who are so far gone that the best of food and attendance could not save them. The position of these unfortunate people is not as if their food-supply had been abruptly and entirely cut off a few weeks ago; those who still live have been starving for many months. Their bodies are weakened, and disease has had full sway. The appalling number of deaths from starvation in Cuba, the bright sunny island that under proper conditions could support in comfort and plenty eight millions of people, will surely be swelled by many more thousands before the chapter is closed.

Havana itself has had its fair share of reconcentrados. But, for several reasons, these people have probably suffered less there than elsewhere. Havana has felt less the ill effects of war than many interior towns. In Havana there has been the most of business activity, and, following this, opportunity for work. The citizens of the capital have been better able to help the suffering by personal contribution. The succor of the Spanish government has been in slight evidence in Havana. The distribution of the first of the American relief was confined solely to Havana and its immediate vicinity, unfortunately at the cost of increased suffering at other points, whose resources were as nothing, and whose want was indescribable.

Harold Martin.





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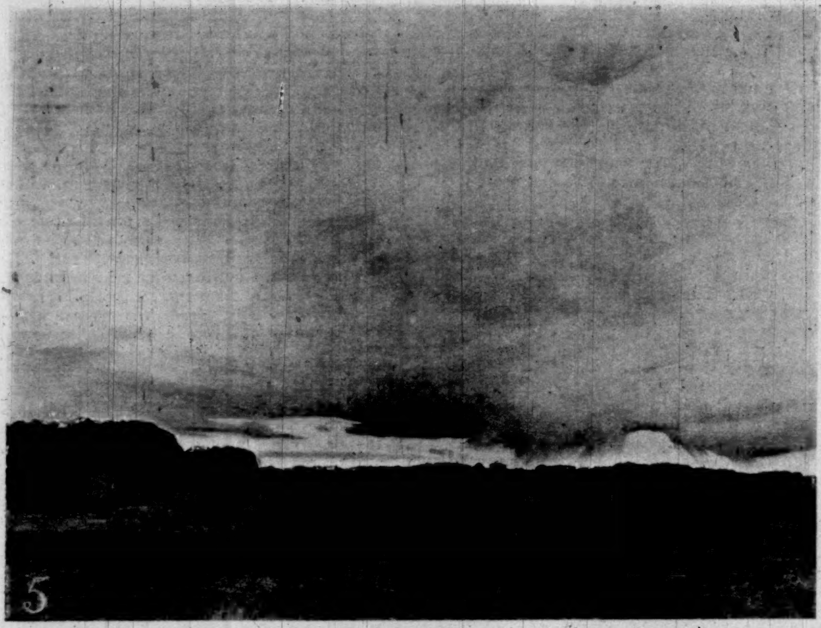

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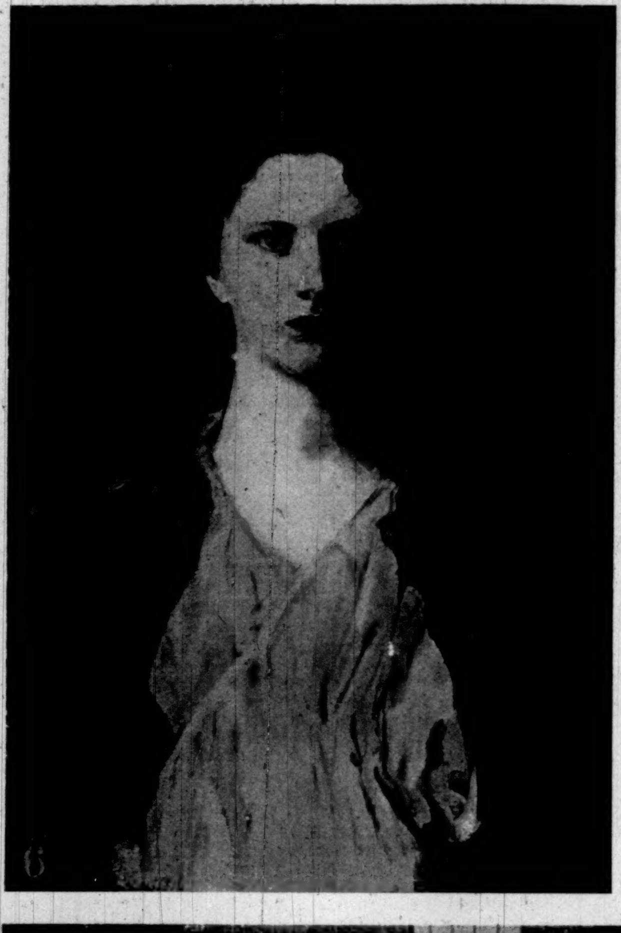

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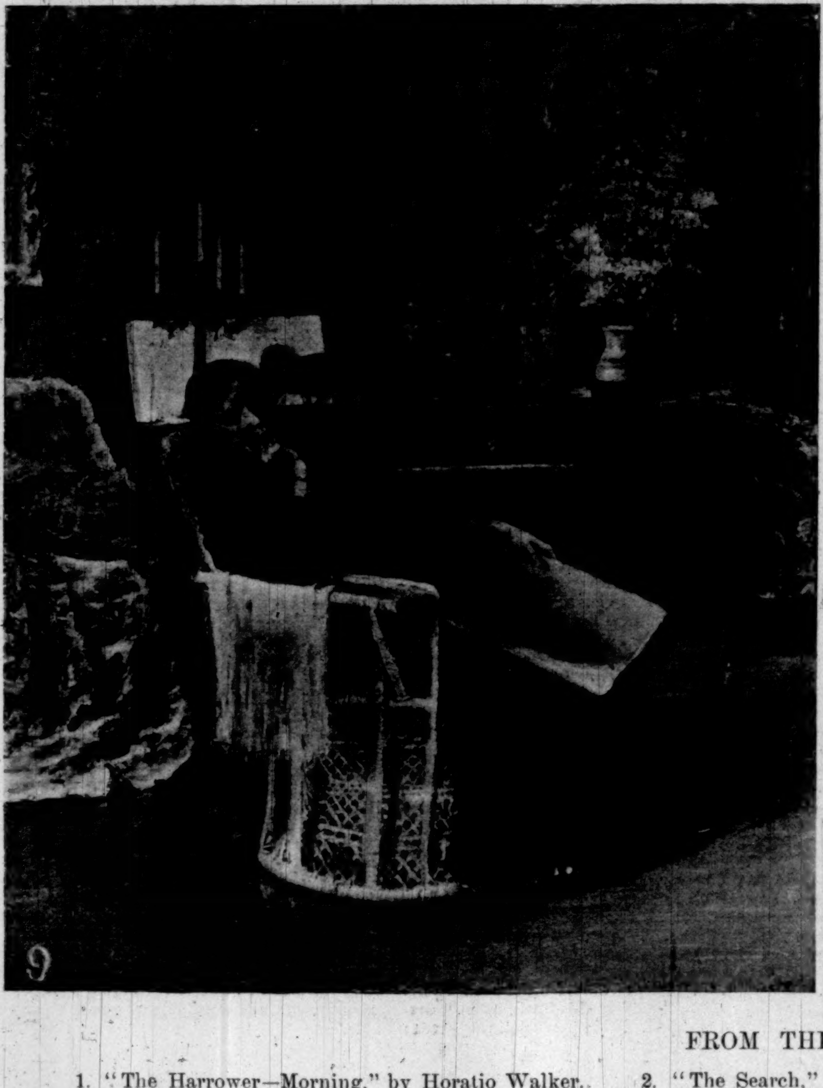

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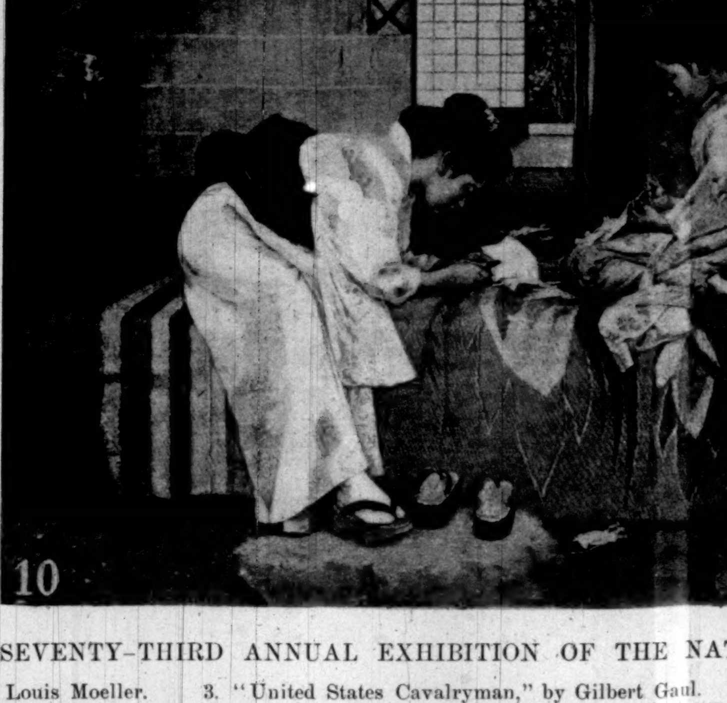

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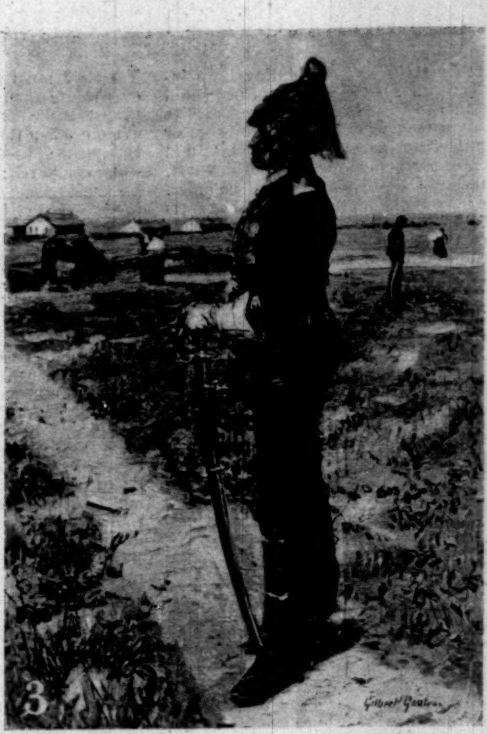
FROM THE SEVENTY-THIRD ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE NA

1. "The Harrower—Morning," by Horatio Walker. 2. "The Search," by Louis Moeller. 3. "United States Cavalryman," by Gilbert Gaul.
7. "Child Sewing," by Frank W. Benson. 8. "The Mill-Stream," by F. S. Dellenbaugh. 9. "In the Studio," by William M. Chase. 10. "P



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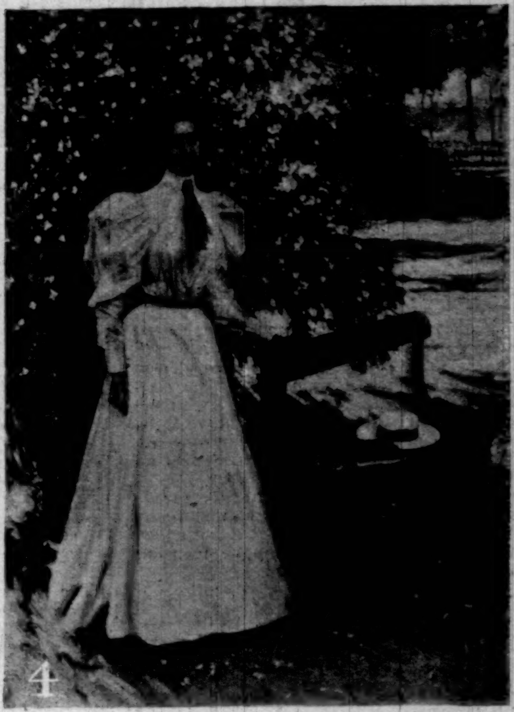

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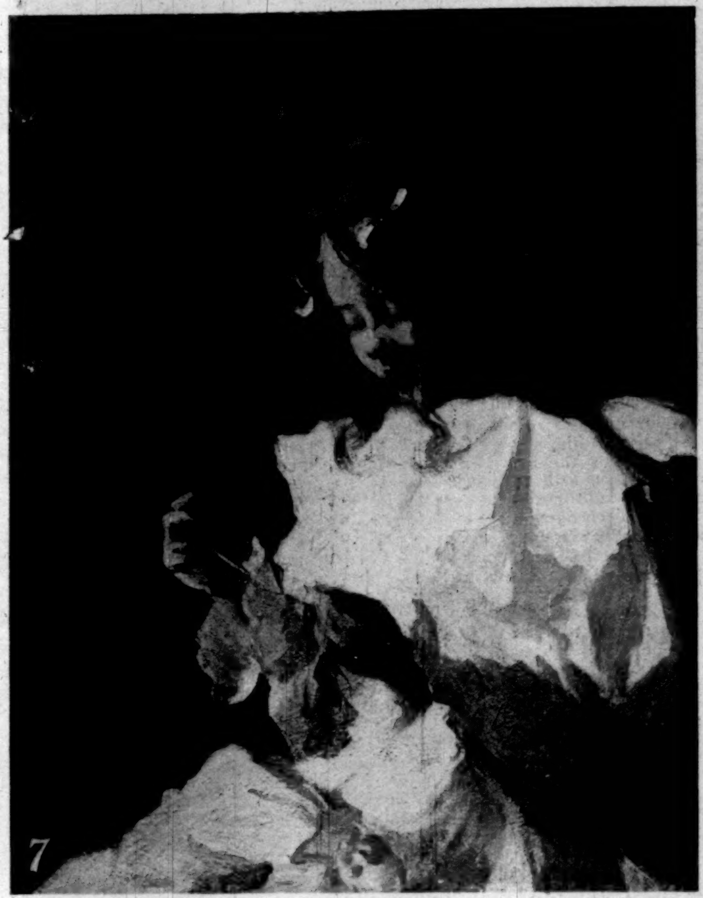

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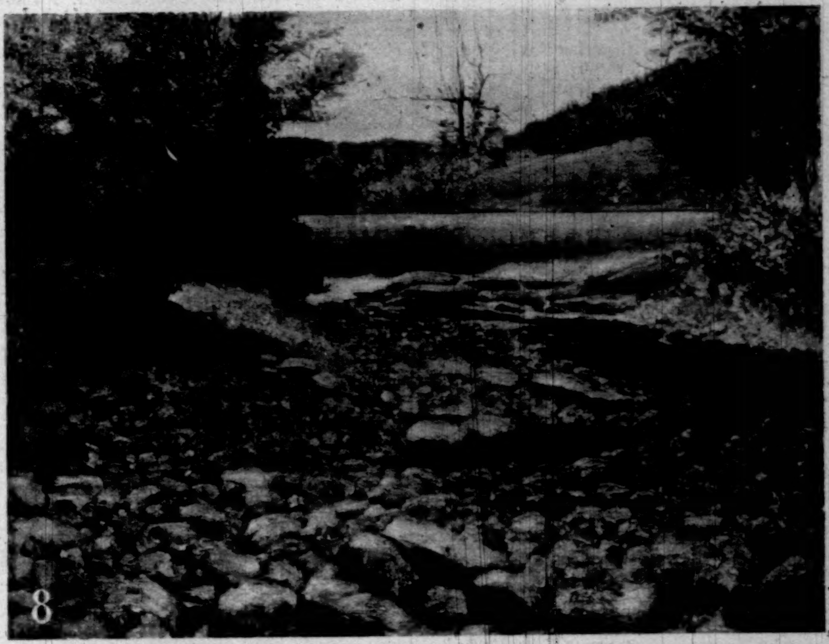

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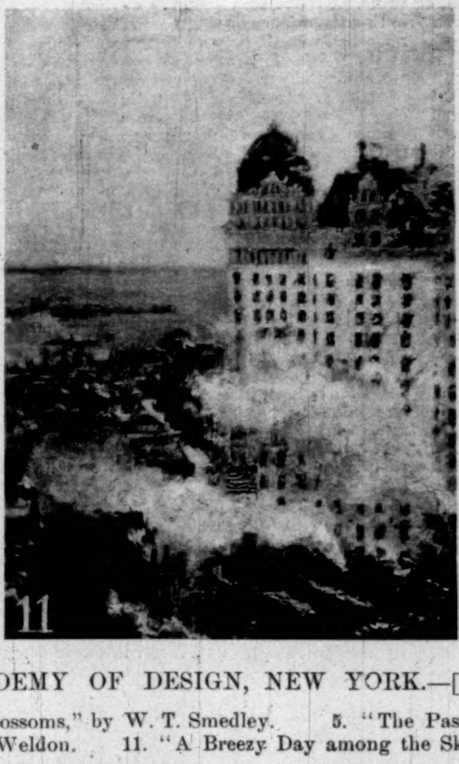

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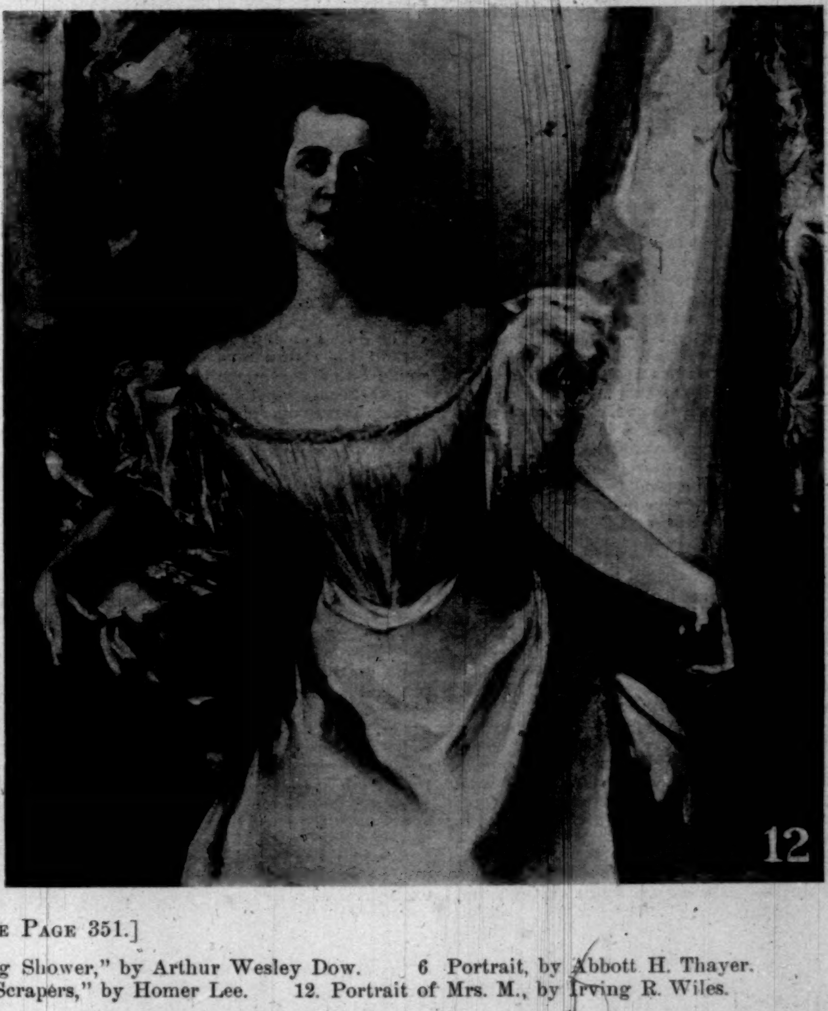

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E NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN, NEW YORK.—[SEE PAGE 351.]

Gaul. 4. "Orange Blossoms," by W. T. Smedley. 5. "The Passing Shower," by Arthur Wesley Dow. 6 Portrait, by Abbott H. Thayer.
10. "Pastime," by C. D. Weldon. 11. "A Breezy Day among the Sky-Scrapers," by Homer Lee. 12. Portrait of Mrs. M., by Irving R. Wiles.

THE FOREIGN COMMERCE OF CUBA.

NOT since our civil war has the spectacle been presented to the world of a great producing country reduced to impotence through war or insurrection. The wars in Europe, Asia, and Africa waged since 1860 have concerned large numbers of men, wide territories, and threatened diversified industries, but the effects soon wore away, and the immediate disturbance was not great. In Cuba alone has war proved destructive to immense interests, and has wrought with such virulence and concentrated intensity as in two years to have beggared a people living in one of nature's garden-spots, and having at their very door a market second to none in the world. With an area equal to that of Ohio, containing a population about one-half that of Massachusetts, under an antiquated and oppressive political and economic rule Cuba has attained a high commercial importance. The present political situation of the island requires no description; the commercial past and possibilities are of the greatest moment in any attempt to weigh its relations to be maintained with the United States. Few official reports of the trade of Cuba have been published, and it is only from fragmentary returns and from the statistics of other countries that an approximately correct account can be obtained.

In only one year, 1892, have the returns of Cuban trade been distributed by countries participating in that trade, and the figures must be accepted with that doubt which pertains to all Cuban statistics, even though given out as official. These returns were as follows:

	Imports.	Exports.
Spain	$4,000,200	$1,983,600
Puerto Rico	779,600	371,600
United States	3,590,800	15,586,200
England	2,734,400	90,800
Germany	398,600	713,200
France	192,000	401,200
Canada	709,200	817,800

It does not require much study of the returns of the commerce of Spain with Cuba to recognize the inherent weakness of the system on which it rests. Insisting that the Cuban market shall be reserved for Spanish products of agriculture and manufacture, no market is conceded in Spain for Cuban products. Further, the entire carriage of the commerce between mother-country and dependency is confined to vessels flying the Spanish flag, and generally owned in Spain. The result is inevitable. Cuba, growing little that Spain needs or will take, must look elsewhere for a market, and so comes into competition with the world. The prices obtained for her sugar, tobacco, and fruits are not determined by monopoly conditions, but by a strenuous struggle with countries producing similar or competing articles. The beet-sugar industry of Continental Europe has nearly ruined the cane interests of the British West Indies, and Cuba has been fully exposed to the same destructive influences. It has only been the natural aptitude of the island for the cane-culture and the existence of a market like the United States that have enabled her to maintain, and even to increase, her production in the face of obstacles insuperable to neighboring islands and countries not possessed of as great advantages.

How limited and inelastic is the market given in Spain to Cuban products a few statistics will show. In 1881 Spain imported from Cuba products to the value of $4,492,178, of which only $2895 was carried in vessels other than Spanish. Of the total sum $1,956,129 was in sugar, representing 14,479,124 kilograms, and $1,814,661 was in tobacco. No other single item gave an import of $193,000, the nearest to that sum being cocoa, $163,700; woods, $137,753; and spirits, $109,057. Ten years later, in 1891, the total import was $7,193,173, of which $4,243,140 was in sugar (the quantity being 36,641,975 kilograms); tobacco, $1,502,312; cocoa, $430,679; and spirits, $520,250. This would have represented a fair rate of increase had there been any assurance of a continuance of development. In 1894, the last full year before the outbreak of the insurrection in the island, the returns showed no notable change in the total, but some disquieting alterations in the details. The total import was $7,265,120, an increase of only 1 per cent. over the return for 1891. The sugar takings were $2,918,700 (or 25,674,000 kilograms), a decrease of more than 31 per cent. in value, and 29 per cent. in quantity; those of tobacco were $2,285,833, an increase of 52 per cent., due in great part to the needs of the tobacco monopoly in Spain; and cocoa gave a small increase, while spirits a large decrease. It was evident that Cuba could no longer look to Spain to take even the small share of her sugar product that had been taken in the past, and only in tobacco could a market be looked for—a market ruled by a company that sought its own profit and not the profit of the Cuban planter.

As if these indications of serious weakness were not sufficient to awaken inquiry, there was a marked increase in the movement from Cuba to Spain of the precious metals. In 1881 the colony sent only $51,376 in gold and $9100 in silver. In 1883 and 1885 about $1,096,000 in silver was thus exported, but the gold movement ceased. From 1886 to 1892 neither metal was sent from the island, but $1,124,400 in gold was sent from Spain, and beginning with 1891 the exports from Spain to Cuba of silver assumed large proportions, incident to the effort of the administration to place the currency and the finances of the island upon a firm basis. From 1891 to 1895 no less than $13,000,000 in silver has thus been shipped, and in 1896 the enormous sum of $24,228,640 in silver was sent to Cuba, and nearly $12,400,000 in silver and gold sent from Cuba to Spain, a movement incident to the military expeditions sent to the island. This movement since 1884 is given in detail, and in pesetas (a peseta=19.3 cents United States money).

In illustration of the close monopoly maintained by Spain in her colonies, and the importance of these colonies to export interests, some comparisons may be made of a few leading items. In 1895 there were exported from Spain 4,942,565 kilograms of white cotton goods. Cuba received 3,520,416 kilograms, Puerto Rico 345,660 kilograms, and the Philippine Islands 1,004,297 kilograms—the three dependencies receiving more than 98 per cent. of the entire export. It is much the same with other textiles, and only to these colonies can Spain export them, protected as they are by tariff and navigation laws intended for Spanish benefit. Of the exports of boots and shoes in 1895, amounting to $5,138,944, the three colonies took $5,014,930. No rice or wheat flour, preserves or sweets, or such manufactures as soap, paper, paints, and colors, or glass, china, or earthen-ware of Spanish export, find any market outside of these monopolized colonies. In 1885 Cuba received about one-tenth of the total exports from Spain; in 1895 the proportion rose to 17 per cent., or about one-sixth of the whole. In the earlier year the three colonies took one-eighth of the exports of Spain, and in 1895 no less than 27 per cent.

TOTAL TRADE OF SPAIN AND SHARE OF CUBA.

Year.	Imports.		Exports.		Excess of exports.
	Total.	From Cuba.	Total.	To Cuba.	
1884	779,643,866	19,721,813	619,192,339	52,778,264	33,056,451
1885	764,757,664	39,673,705	698,003,042	64,963,029	25,289,324
1886	855,206,950	39,280,467	727,349,885	69,044,242	29,763,775
1887	811,211,708	37,336,303	722,181,712	61,003,980	23,667,677
1888	716,085,479	35,980,680	763,104,389	65,096,728	29,116,048
1889	866,311,424	34,767,153	896,855,826	82,718,564	47,951,411
1890	941,137,925	44,561,814	937,759,883	86,426,832	41,865,013
1891	1,018,770,524	37,270,329	932,245,001	114,860,362	77,590,033
1892	850,530,978	49,587,558	759,503,976	145,319,355	95,731,797
1893	770,745,408	29,519,643	709,706,877	127,924,211	98,404,568
1894	804,790,869	37,643,110	672,887,317	117,061,881	79,418,771
1895	838,494,904	37,181,893	804,952,118	136,261,640	99,079,747
1896	909,589,269	83,758,201	1,023,252,447	255,904,875	172,146,674

The ever-increasing excess of imports into Cuba from Spain over the exports from Cuba to Spain pointed to a coming catastrophe in the exchanges. The creation of treasury notes (*bons du trésor*) could postpone the settlement, but was able to do so only at the expense of greater exchange difficulties in the future. It was a condition of war that put an end to the process, and the unnatural conditions then introduced favored Spain. For every consideration of commerce was now set aside in her efforts to suppress the rebellion against her authority.

The customs laws of Cuba must be studied to understand the commercial dependence of the colony on the mother-country. Prior to 1882 imports into Cuba paid duties which varied not only with the country of origin, but also with the flag of the carrying vessel. By the system introduced in 1870 imports were divided into three groups or classes, and the duties, increased in later years, were in 1881 for each group as follows:

	First Group.	Second Group.	Third Group.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Spanish products:			
In Spanish vessels	5	14.25	12.50
In other vessels	7.50	22.50	28.75
Foreign products:			
In Spanish vessels	10	30	36.25
In other vessels	12.50	40	46.25

The third group, where the difference was largest, comprised the textiles. No competition could be had under such duties.

In 1882 a new arrangement was made by the *leyes de relaciones*. The discriminating duty by flags was to be abolished gradually; but commercial arrangements made with the United States in 1884, with England in 1886, and enjoyed by France and Germany under the most-favored-nation clause, practically wiped out these duties, leaving Spanish products on an equal footing with foreign, and thus enjoying no protection. A new tariff, framed in 1892, freed Spanish products from all duties, and levied what proved to be nearly prohibitive rates on foreign products that could come into competition with similar products of Spain. The concession made to the United States in 1891 on flour put an end to imports of this article from the mother-country, but the abrogation of the reciprocity agreement in 1894 restored the trade to Spain. The fluctuations in the exports of the four leading items in this trade of Spain with Cuba are displayed in the following table:

EXPORTS FROM SPAIN TO CUBA.

(In pesetas; a peseta equals 19.3 cents U. S. money.)

Year.	Wheat flour.	Wine.	Boots and shoes.	Cotton cloth.
1886	6,307,080	17,104,681	9,977,888	6,057,621
1887	4,807,255	12,857,059	10,210,976	7,057,621
1888	5,317,785	10,824,677	10,520,960	9,014,484
1889	6,873,995	12,969,012	13,774,352	12,298,133
1890	9,428,538	13,066,596	13,247,040	12,044,279
1891	11,970,158	11,960,699	16,968,224	17,247,163
1892	372,950	9,599,616	21,906,624	25,387,486
1893	....	8,761,977	21,450,368	27,219,728
1894	3,518,316	8,211,591	20,694,048	22,396,115
1896	20,326,882	7,440,803	17,249,760	18,384,033

The duties on imports constitute the most important part of the Cuban revenue. Without them the island would be a full charge on the mother-country, and even with them an annual deficit occurred. In the fiscal year 1894-5 the receipts from all sources for the full year were $21,656,000, a not unfavorable return compared with previous years. Of this sum $12,173,320 was obtained from customs, and $6,086,248 from other taxes and imposts. The lotteries yielded $1,563,870, and the *régie*, or farmed revenues, $1,669,592. From these four sources more than 99 per cent. of the entire revenue was derived.

A mere glance at these sources indicates their weakness. It was a mistake to frame the revenue system for the colony on the model of that of the mother-country. The conditions at home made such fiscal instruments as lotteries and monopolies possible, and profitable even at this late day. But the plantations of the colony did not lend themselves readily to such methods. A monopoly in sale could not be other than oppressive, and a monopoly in production or manufacture was out of the question. The lottery appealed to the lowest instincts of the lowest grades of the population, and produced more demoralization than revenue. If the financial system was weak in a time of peace, it was certain to fail in a time of trouble. Commerce has been sadly disorganized by the insurrection, and with production kept down by force and the population beggared by martial law or a law of terror, no internal taxes could continue to be productive of revenue. Lotteries are of secondary importance, but have ever appealed to the Spanish gambler, for they offer the excitement of a game of chance, and at very small cost. Yet they must feel the altered condition of the island even more than the *régie* or state monopolies. How imperfect is the revenue system of this great colony becomes evident when the receipts for the first nine months of the two years 1894–5 and 1895–6—the latest available returns—are compared:

	1894–1895.	1895–1896.
	Piastres.	Piastres.
Contributions and Imposts	3,849,112	2,767,119
Customs	9,326,593	8,414,872
Monopolies	1,312,481	1,062,359
Lotteries	1,568,769	854,980
Other	59,765	58,480
Total	16,116,720	13,157,810

Here is a decrease of more than one-sixth established in a single year, and there is every evidence of as heavy a diminution in receipts for the year 1896–7. The framing of a budget for Cuba has become a mere form, and always makes a show of returns as high as had been received in the years of peace and fair prosperity. But the results have proved most disappointing, and must continue to do so while a state of war and disorganized production and commerce last. In any event, a tariff must be the foundation-stone of the revenue system, and hence the intimate connection between revenue and commerce.

The limitations imposed on Cuban foreign commerce may be shown in the trade statistics of other countries. England, the most important commercial power in the world, finds little in Cuba to buy for her own consumption or for use in her industries. She is a much better customer for the Philippine Islands, whence she obtains nearly one-half of her imports of hemp, her largest single import of unrefined sugar, and some tobacco and oil nuts, amounting in all to more than $7,500,000 a year. From Cuba and Puerto Rico (the islands are not separated in the trade returns) the total import in 1896 was only $179,205, and the largest movement in any single year since 1889 was in 1894, when the value of imports rose to $1,119,830. Prior to 1883 the import was much larger, but the growth of the beet-root industry in Continental Europe crowded the cane product from the English market, and only a small quantity is now obtained from Cuba. In times of peace this item of raw sugar was the most important article in this trade, but 230,000 hundred-weight would be considered a heavy movement, representing a value of about $828,000. Apart from sugar, the only product largely dealt in is mahogany. A year in which the United Kingdom would take Cuban products to the value of $1,000,000 would be looked upon as a very favorable one for Cuba.

As an exporter England has a larger interest in the Spanish West Indies. In a fair year $13,000,000 would represent her exports to them, and these exports would be almost equally divided between her own produce and manufactures and foreign or colonial merchandise passing through English hands. Foods, especially rice, cured or salted fish and meats, and cheese, are all of foreign or colonial origin. The textiles of cotton, wool, and flax, iron and steel in various forms and machinery, are entirely of British make. Naturally the insurrection has greatly affected the demand for these products, and the British exports to both islands have been reduced to less than one-half the amount exported in 1892. It is evident that little encouragement to Cuban production on the old lines can be found in English commerce.

France, on the other hand, is a better consumer of Cuban and Puerto Rican products than purveyor for Cuban markets. Naturally, having sugar colonies of her own and a great overgrown beet industry at home, she takes no Cuban sugar. Of the three leading items of import—coffee, tobacco, and sponges—which made up 84 per cent. of the general imports and 92 per cent. of the special imports from the Spanish West Indies, only two—tobacco and sponges—are so distinctly Cuban products that they could be assigned to that island. The imports of these two articles amounted to less than $950,000 in 1896, and in only one year since 1886 have they amounted to $1,000,000. The value of all imports into France from Cuba and Puerto Rico was $3,458,203 in 1896, of which $2,224,776 was for consumption in France. This was the largest import since 1890, and was due to an unusually heavy taking of coffee, more probably from Puerto Rico than from the sister colony.

The total export from France to the Spanish West Indies was $447,440 in 1896, or less than one-half the import value. Of this sum $342,776, or about 77 per cent., was in French produce or manufactures. The movement was remarkably small, only one-fifth what would be regarded as the transactions of an average year. These exports are almost entirely of manufactures, and of those finer or more peculiar grades known generally as "Paris articles." Neither as an importer nor as an exporter does France enter into competition with the United States in Cuban markets, and may be set aside as a negligible quantity.

Germany, the third of the great commercial powers of Europe, is also a larger taker of West Indian products than supplier of those markets. As in the case of England and France, the trade with the two islands belonging to Spain is entered under one head, but the commodities most largely concerned indicate with sufficient clearness the source. Since 1890 the special imports into Germany from the Spanish West Indies have averaged $2,960,000, and have been heavier in the more recent years. Tobacco is the one very large article ($2,124,000 in 1896), and, with skins, woods, and coffee, makes more than 96 per cent. of the total import. Certainly all the tobacco and a very large part of the skins are of Cuban origin, but the other articles are in large part from Puerto Rico.

In no year has Germany exported to Cuba and Puerto Rico manufactures to the extent of one-half the value of the imports from them. Aggressive and successful as the exporters of Germany have been in other markets, they have met with little encouragement from the colonies of Spain. Beginning with a special export of $1,190,000 in 1889, the first year in which the islands were separately given in the trade returns, it increased to $1,428,000 in 1892, only to fall to $1,071,000 in 1896. Outside of rice (of foreign production), copper, iron and steel ware, and paper, there is no important article of export to be mentioned. Germany is not a factor in Cuban commerce, and cannot be looked upon as having immediate interests or offering encouragement to it.

In 1896 the three great commercial powers of Europe purchased for their own consumption products of the Spanish West Indies to the value of $5,525,941, and these products (outside of tobacco) were largely obtained from Puerto Rico. In the same year they exported to these islands commodities to the value of $7,255,621, making a total transaction of $12,781,562—a sum not equal to the annual commerce of the United States with Switzerland. As the year 1896 was an unfavorable year, it will be interesting to take the years of largest transactions with each country since 1886. The total imports from the Spanish West Indies on this calculation were $7,506,703, and the exports were $17,848,968, or a total movement of merchandise of $25,355,671. Such a comparison is of interest as showing it is the export trade from Europe to these islands that has suffered by the insurrection, while the import interests, though seriously affected, have better withstood the stress of war. It is also of interest as proving that Spain, in 1896, when food and munitions of war had increased her exports of merchandise beyond the average, did not enjoy a larger market in Cuba than the three powers of Europe had held in the best years in the two islands. For in 1896 Spain sent to Cuba in merchandise $26,892,000, and received from Cuba only $4,379,643. To such a pass has the commercial policy of the mother-country brought her trade with the dependency.

In Europe Cuba finds a very limited market for her chief product, sugar, and this market is yearly becoming smaller through the strenuous and successful, though costly, effort of four countries to produce sufficient beet sugar to meet the possible requirements of all Europe. It is to the United States alone that Cuba can sell her cane product, and this one circumstance brings the island into closer commercial relations with us than with the mother-country and all Europe combined. The limit of the possibilities of growing sugar in the island has never been fully tested. The abolition of slavery in the French and British sugar colonies introduced such a disturbing influence in their labor arrangements as to give Cuba, where slavery and the equally vicious coolie system continued until absolutely abolished in 1886, a great opening in developing the sugar interest. In 1886 the crop was placed at 700,000 tons; in 1893 it had increased to 840,000 tons—a not striking increase, considering the stimulus offered by free sugar in the United States. The next year the crop rose to 1,087,000 tons—high-water mark—nearly equalled in 1895 with 1,040,000 tons. The insurrection ruined the sugar interest, bringing the production down to 240,000 tons in 1896, and almost crushing it out in 1897.

Nearly all the tobacco is taken by the United States. The export of leaf in 1893 was placed at 227,865 bales, of cigars 147,365,000, and a very large quantity—45,000,000 packages—of cigarettes. Woods (chiefly mahogany), honey, wax, and fruits make up the balance of Cuban exports. The total trade of Cuba for three years, as given in official documents, was—

Year.	Imports.	Exports.
1892	$52,101,682	$83,018,228
1894	87,970,000	104,638,000
1895	69,574,080	103,249,000

The returns of the largest trade year with England, France, and Germany show that these three countries took about 7 per cent. of the total exports from Cuba, and supplied 20 per cent. of the imports. Including Spain's share in the trade of the island, we find that the four nations took about one-tenth of Cuba's exports, and supplied nearly one-half of her imports.

To this point the commercial interests of Europe in Cuba have alone been considered. It now remains to show the position occupied by the United States.*

The trade of Cuba with the United States increased most rapidly between 1871 and 1880. While the average annual import into the United States from 1861–70 was $38,219,500, the average from 1871–80 was $65,970,300, an increase of 72.6 per cent. The high-water mark was reached in 1874 with $85,428,097, a figure never approached before or since that year. Just twenty years later, in 1893, the value of the imports rose to $78,706,506, a second record in this commerce; but in the interval the ten-year average had fallen from the $65,970,300 of 1871–80 to $55,436,360 of 1881–90, and $69,380,400 for the five years 1891–5. These figures alone show that it is the United States, and not Europe, that has given Cuba its commercial standing and opportunity.

This trade is, however, curiously restricted on the part of Cuba, for it rests upon three articles—sugar, tobacco, and fruits. In only one of these articles may Cuba be said to possess a monopoly—tobacco. All attempts to produce "Havana" tobacco elsewhere have failed, as the plant undergoes some change when transferred to other soils. While it is well known that much of the leaf coming as "Havana" is really a product of Puerto Rico, made up into cigars in Cuba, yet the tobacco of the Cuban valley holds a natural and deserved eminence over other qualities. The quantity imported in 1896—26,748,911 pounds—was the largest transaction in a single year, representing a value of $10,549,030, and constituting 97 per cent. of the total import of leaf, other than wrappers. Nearly $3,000,000 more as manufactured tobacco, chiefly cigars, is brought in from Cuba under ordinary conditions. A rough estimate would give the number of cigars thus imported from Cuba at 52,000,000, constituting a small number when compared with the domestic product, 4,000,000,000 in 1897, yet exercising a very important influence in the market.

In supplying the United States with fruits Cuba occupied a secondary position. In bananas the British West Indies and Central America surpassed her, and the oranges and cocoanuts of the island could not compete in quality with like products of the neighboring countries, like Mexico and Colombia, or of the British islands. In other lines, such as asphaltum, hides and skins, vegetables, and cabinet woods, Cuba held an important but by no means dominant position in our imports, and would hardly be appreciably missed were the trade in these articles to cease, as indeed it has done to a great extent since 1896. The iron ore from Cuba is the only quality of ore brought into the United States in large quantities, having a composition peculiarly fitting it for use in the furnaces of the coast.

So that, when sifted down, the commerce of the United States with Cuba rests upon two items, tobacco and sugar, and of these the more important is sugar. In 1894, when the proposal to restore a duty upon imported sugar was pending, and the world was searched for raw sugars to be landed in the United States before the duty became effective, Cuba supplied 2,274,135,000 pounds. When it is stated that the importations ranking next in importance were 305,855,000 pounds from the Hawaiian Islands and 258,958,000 pounds from Germany, it is easily seen what the sugar of Cuba meant to the United States. In the twelve months of 1894 the imports of raw sugars from all sources were 3,482,093,321 pounds, of which 313,116,052 pounds were the product of the beet root. Thus Cuba supplied 71 per cent. of the total cane imports, and 65 per cent. of the total sugars.

Nothing can bring into clearer light the terrible results of the insurrection to the commercial interests of the island than a comparison of the movement of sugar in 1897 with that of 1894. It is well known how both Spanish and Cubans sought to produce a moral as well as physical effect by preventing the planting and gathering of the cane. Only the trade returns can give some appreciation of the destructive effect of this policy. In 1897 Cuba sent to the United States 420,490,000 pounds of raw sugar, or less than one-fifth the quantity sent in 1894. Among cane-producing countries this import was exceeded by the Hawaiian Islands and the British East Indies. Cuba supplied only 14 per cent. of the total imports of cane sugar, and less than 10 per cent. of the imports of all raw sugars. In place of receiving $63,000,000 for the sugar exported to the United States, as it did in 1894, Cuba received only $10,000,000 for its sending in 1897. The ability of the island to pay its charges of debt and administration, and to feed the "carpet-baggers" and absentee planters, to support a host of useless but hungry and rapacious officials sent out from Spain, depended upon this remittance for sugar and tobacco from the United States. At least $55,000,000 a year has been lost to Cuba in these two articles alone, and an island rich in tested possibilities is doomed to an economic destruction while Spain holds dominion.

For it is the market of the United States alone that can make Cuba bloom into profit. All Europe combined cannot do it, as the one great interest of the island competes with a special industry of Continental Europe—the beet-root industry—an economic nightmare that has more than once threatened the state treasuries with ruin, and produced more diplomatic negotiation than could a question of territory. The huge overfattened monstrosity which each nation hoped to use offensively against its neighbors has turned upon its creators, and would veto any proposition to give Cuba even a small part of the home markets. All Europe, too, is combined against the free sale of the second large item in Cuban economy, for the state monopoly (*régie*) in the leading nations of the Continent control with an iron hand the import, manufacture, and sale of the weed. No statesmanship based upon sentiment or upon economic considerations on the part of Europe can give Cuba what she needs, and what she must have if she is to remain a factor in the world's commerce. No decree of Spain, no system of tariff duties or navigation regulations or commercial prohibition, can have effect in affecting this overshadowing influence of the United States over the commercial destinies of Cuba.

In the supply of Cuba with her chief needs in food and machinery the United States should also stand first. A natural protection of distance, as well as a natural advantage in production, should establish this commerce on grounds which no other country could well contest unless favored by tariff laws that would work more injury to the producers than benefit to the monopolists. In 1894, a year of fair trade, the exports from the United States to Cuba were $19,855,237. Of this total more than one-half was composed of machinery and iron and steel in various forms, breadstuffs and provisions, wood and coal. Of articles of minor importance the movement was large, but need not be specified; for the opportunities for increasing the export must first lie with food (especially flour) and machinery. With the pacification of the island the demand will develop in many directions; and with the burdensome and discriminating customs duties repealed, the United States should be in a position to avail itself of its natural ability to enjoy the offerings of the Cuban market.

Nor is the question of annexation closely connected with this commercial supremacy. As a dependency of another power, and under a system of maladministration, Cuba developed into its commercial eminence; and even those adverse influences could not seriously interfere with this development. As an independent power, working out its own political salvation, the economic ability would still remain, and probably be even more active when the trammels of the Spanish commercial policy have been laid aside. The immense sales of sugar and tobacco and the ever-increasing demand in the United States for tropical fruits would give Cuba a commercial standing and financial credit that would be a guarantee of power and safety. As a Territory or a State of the Union, Cuba could only bring with it a train of political and financial problems of serious import and high difficulty.

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* The trade returns of European countries are for calendar years; those of the United States are for fiscal years, from July 1 to June 30.

ROSE DATES.

Few persons who are more than a little fond of particular varieties of roses are aware of how recent is a really strong individuality in foreign varieties of their favorite flower.

The "Gloire de Dijon" dates from 1853. The "General Jacqueminot" was offered to the public in 1859. The "Maréchal Niel" (which beautiful rose seems lately unjustly out of vogue) was perfected in 1864. "La France" came in 1868. The "Madame Isaac-Pereire" is of 1880. "La Reine" is almost the oldest of the hybrids still beloved, having made its success in 1843.

The new and assumed varieties now put forth annually still reach the number of seventy or eighty. But the majority of them have no decisive characteristics to enable them to hold their own against others. The "American Beauty" and "Catherine Mermet" are the most significant additions within a few seasons to the general catalogue, and not yet in universal favor.

ART.

NOTES AT THE SEVENTY-THIRD ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

It is impossible not to feel that this exhibition compares unfavorably with those of other societies that have been recently held. Whereas they have possessed the qualities of progressiveness, not in the direction of following new fads, but in the sounder one of higher aims and maturer fulfilment, the Academy, as represented by the present exhibition, is open to the charge of perfunctoriness, mediocrity, and, in certain cases, of trashiness. The younger and stronger elements, which are its chief hopes, have not on this occasion come forward in sufficient numbers or with sufficient force to vitalize the dead wood. There is a dreary dead level of apathy, from which one is too often startled into a feeling of painful surprise that the committee should have presumed so far upon the credulity or indifference of the public as to permit the hanging of certain pictures. On the other hand, there are a few exhibits which speak with such authority that the impression left by the whole exhibition is mainly a remembrance of them.

One of these is Mr. J. Carroll Beckwith's "Portrait of Mrs. Beckwith." The lady stands in front of a gilded chair upholstered in crimson damask. She is dressed in black skirt with a bodice of deep blue velvet, and a boa and muff of brown fur. The pose is very dignified, and the general air gracious and womanly. The textures throughout are painted with magnificent assurance, and the picture, as a whole, is full of force and persuasive charm. The same qualities are apparent in Mr. Walter Shirlaw's "In Church"—the figure of a lady in black sitting on a bench of time-stained oak, with a quaintly fashioned hat tied with ribbons under the chin of a sweet and serious face. The hands are crossed, one holding a handkerchief, and the other lying upon an open book. The picture is a beautiful example of Mr. Shirlaw's matured and earnest method. There is a sober luxury in the blending of the rich dark tones, relieved by a delicate animation of reflected lights, and little accidents or studied surprises of effect. Out of the strenuous earnestness of this well-pondered harmony of deep tones the face and hands steal with a tenderness, almost playfulness, that is quite bewitching. The Hallgarten Prize of $300, for the best picture in oil-colors painted in the United States by an American citizen under thirty-five years of age, is awarded this year to Mr. Robert Reid for his "Dawn." This is a ceiling panel, about eight by six feet, representing the rosy-fingered goddess stepping into her chariot, and lighting her torch from the flame-bowl held by another girlish figure. The latter symbolizes the source of light; at the same time, of life, for a little child is nestling at her feet; and of beauty also, as suggested by a peacock. The picture is finely composed, with large masses and fluent lines of movement, and the coloring is dainty, animated, and yet very dignified. The girlish figures are exquisitely pure and beautiful in type, and accord well with the symbolical subject and the sensitive grace with which it is treated.

"In the Studio," by Mr. William M. Chase, has all the spontaneity and freshness which characterize his pictures, and is carried further than many, with a brilliant arrangement of color that is thoroughly decorative. The Thomas B. Clarke Prize of $300, for the best American figure composition painted in the United States by an American citizen, without limit of age, has been given to Mr. Abbott H. Thayer. It is rather a stretching of terms to call his portrait of a lady, shown as far as the waist, a "figure composition"; and the work, though very serious in intention, has been scarcely carried to the point of completion. There is much force shown in the conception and treatment, and a charming sentiment runs through the picture; but the face, notwithstanding its great beauty, is much marred by the almost brutal indication of shadows. One of the most agreeable canvases is a "Child Sewing," by Mr. Frank W. Benson. It is tender and sparkling in color, the face and pose are lovably childlike, and although little more than a sketch, it is painted with wonderful decision, and from the requisite distance counts as a very beautiful picture. Mr. Edgar M. Ward contributes one of his brilliant records of skilfully arranged facts, under the title of the "Coppersmith"; and Mr. J. G. Brown a strongly executed record of facts, as his fancy sees them—two gamins playing with a dog.

The most important landscape is the late Mr. William L. Picknell's "Banks of the Loing," a stretch of river, with towing-path on one side, and hills on the other, bathed in warm sunshine, and full of the health and peacefulness of country. Mr. Howard Russell Butler, whose election as an Associate of the National Academy is announced, is represented by "The Sea at Evening," a very important and beautiful picture of rosy sky and curling waves, limpid as well as opalescent. "A Spring Idyl," by Mr. George H. Smillie, is a grateful piece of fresh and vigorous painting, and "A Moonlight Night" a good example of luminous gloom, such as Mr. Louis Paul Dessau depicts with so much feeling and truthfulness. The "Sunshine," by Mr. B. West Clinedinst, is almost more of a decorative panel than a landscape, for it is painted very nearly on one plane; but it is very charming, composed with a certain demure playfulness, and warm and vivacious in color. Mr. C. Harry Eaton's "By the old Bridge" is a pleasing landscape, full of cool lush vegetation; and Mr. S. M. Laurence's "Setting Sun, Coast of Cornwall," a glow of misty colors, very lovely, but covering possibly too much canvas for the subject. "Moonrise in August" is an example of Mr. W. A. Coffin's earnest study of nature, caught as it were in her secret moments when none but the poet or the artist is abroad to pry upon her. Mr. J. H. Twachtman shows a remarkable picture of "Niagara Falls," in which the plunge of the torrent, contrasting cloud of spray, and the slip and fall of the smaller streams of water are finely expressed. Color, movement, weight, are all depicted, though, as seen at night, the picture seems to be deficient in moisture. In "Spirit of the Night," a naked child standing with uplifted hands in front of a stretch of silvery sea, Mr. Alexander Harrison has conceived a beautiful thought, but scarcely expressed it fully. The reason may be the want of beauty in the child's figure, which disagreeably attracts the eye. Still, it is a picture for which one is grateful. One more landscape must be mentioned in this brief summary—"The Mill-Pond," by Mr. J. Appleton Brown, graciously tranquil and tender.

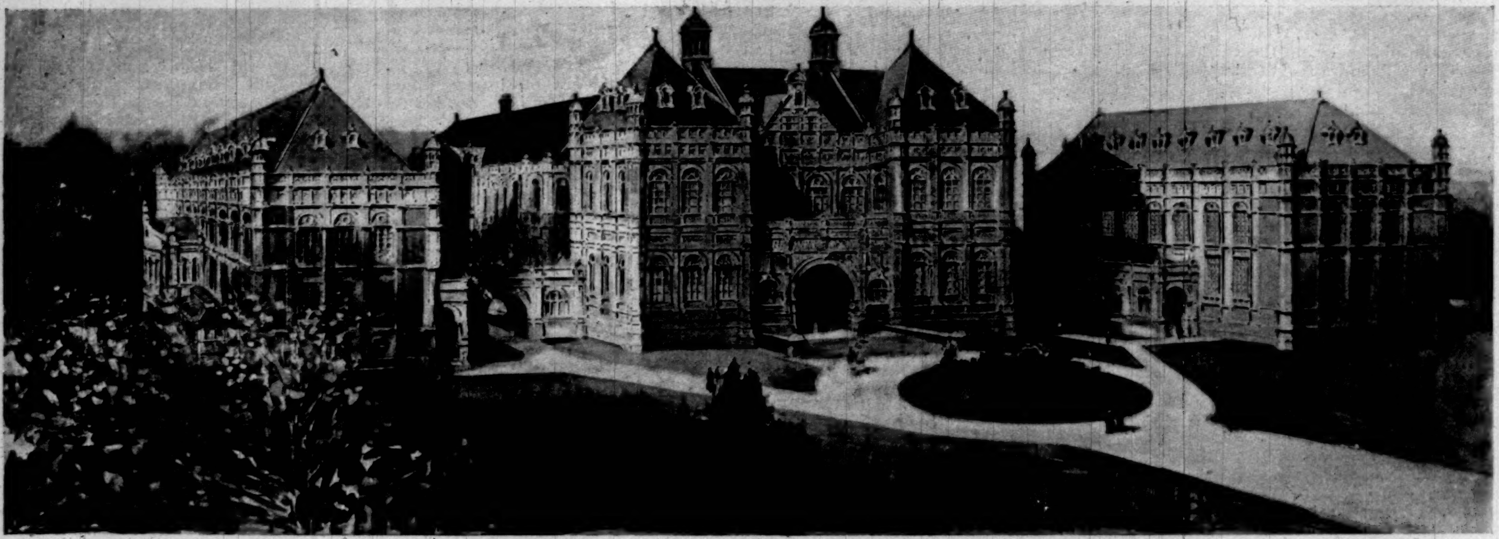
Charles H. Caffin.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHINA.

REV. GILBERT REID,
Peking.

UNUSUAL attention has lately been directed to affairs in the Far East. The greatest diplomats of Europe, Asia, and America have suddenly been brought face to face with a strange medley of unexpected complications, concentrated in the ancient empire of China. The people of that country, hitherto intensely conservative, have been compelled by the force of circumstances to move with the great movements of the world and the time. Conditions have changed, and with the change have arisen new opportunities along lines of progress, enlightenment, and reform. Whoever would seek to use time, money, and energy with the least possible waste must note the new conditions and meet the new opportunities. What may have been best a few years ago may not be best to-day.

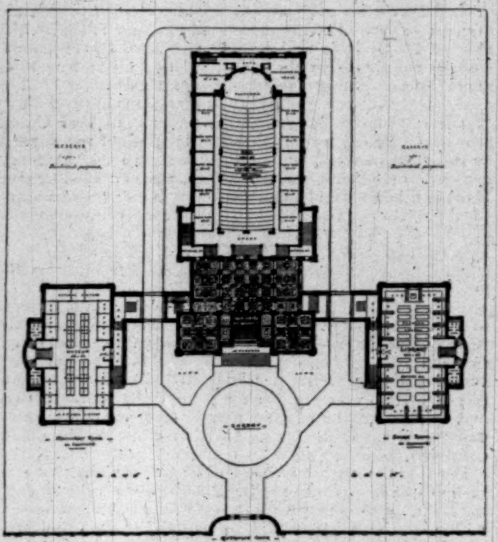
Recognizing the significance of the present time in the affairs of the Far East, a company of men, resident in China, have combined in the effort to establish in the city of Peking the International Institute of China. Already men connected with the nationalities of Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, and the United States are on the committees to further the interests of the proposed institute. Men of other nationalities have shown their endorsement of the work by contributing to it. Men who are sincere in their wish to promote the welfare of the Chinese people and to strengthen the Chinese government have come forward to show their good-will toward this new enterprise.



PROPOSED BUILDINGS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHINA, AT PEKING.

This International Institute, to be started in the capital of China, is a combination of various features distinct in other lands. First, there will be a library and reading-room, to bring together books and periodicals in the Chinese language, to which will be added such from other countries as will be deemed advisable in the future. This will be the first library of the kind to be erected in China, and it is purposed to make it a model for public-spirited Chinese to follow in other sections of the country. Second, there will be a museum, or permanent exposition building, to display the arts and inventions of different nations and to impress the Chinese with the best features of our Christian civilization. Third, there will also be reception-rooms, to bring together the leading men of China and those from other countries who may desire to meet them in a social and friendly way. Fourth, there will be an auditorium for public lectures on all questions of importance, and to be used as a meeting-ground for both foreigners and Chinese who congregate in the large city of Peking. Fifth, there will be class-rooms for giving information and instruction to the grown-up men in official life, or who have literary degrees—a plan modelled somewhat after the University Extension course in this country.

The peculiarity of this work is the definite purpose to reach those who possess the largest influence in China, and through them to affect for good the whole population of that country. As one largely responsible for carrying out this proposed plan, I may say that I deem the undertaking to be feasible because of what has already been accomplished without the aid of any such institutional work. Personally, during the few years that I have lived in China I have found it possible, in a social way, without any introduction from other foreigners and without any political pressure brought to bear upon them, to make the acquaintance of as many as four hundred of the Chinese mandarins. This, of course, has been secured only through concentration of effort, and by a willingness to conform to many of the Chinese usages, and to recognize the good points which many of them possess. Within this circle of friends are included all but one of the Emperor's cabinet, every one of the eleven members of the Imperial Board of Foreign Affairs, many censors of rank, men of highest literary distinction, and upwards of one hundred officials now holding office in the different provinces. An associate in the work is the Rev. Dr. Martin, author of *A Cycle of Cathay*, who has also had large acquaintance with distinguished men in the government, owing to his position, held for over thirty years, as president of the Imperial College and adviser to the Foreign Office. If such a number of influential men, many of whom are intensely conservative, can thus be reached with no attractions, how reasonable is it for us to expect that, with such attractions as this institute will afford, still greater influence can be exerted on these same men, and also an influence over others not yet reached, so that together they will be inclined to adopt measures, approve plans, and assist all efforts for the uplifting of their own people, and for the strengthening of their own government.



PLAN OF BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS.

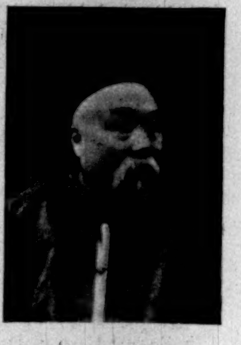
The Grand Secretary, Li Hung-Chang, in a letter which he presented to me April 12, 1897, to be used for publication in this country, made the following statement:

"You have set about solving this problem in a way that should commend itself to every friend of humanity. Unquestionably, if you can give to the blind leaders of our people light and learning enjoyed in the West, they in turn will lead our people out of their darkness."

Then, referring especially to his friends in the United States, he closed with these words:

"If it would interest them to know that I regard you highly, and will give you a helping hand in your future efforts to bring more light into the world and encourage higher aims for aspirations, you may use for that purpose this letter," etc.

The Imperial Board of Foreign Affairs, as representing the government, has, for the first time in its history, been willing to formally sanction under its seal such a plan for an international institute. Promises have been made by men of that body to bestow still greater honor by memorializing the Emperor for Imperial recognition so soon as the plan may be carried out. There is already abundant proof that the execution of this plan will not long be delayed. Already in China I have been able to secure contributions to the amount of $15,000. Most of this came from individual Chinese. Governor Hu, Director-General of Railroads in North China, the Metropolitan Viceroy Wang Wen-Shao, of Tien-tsin, and Viceroy Chang Chih-Tung, in Central China, were among the number to indicate their good-will by rendering financial aid. The work at present is carried on in a humble Chinese house rented for not more than $7 per month, and though new and grander buildings are planned for the future, it is still intended to bring Western ideas to the Chinese by methods of conciliation and adaptation.



GOVERNOR HU,
Director-General of Railroads.

This plan, so largely endorsed in China, is now brought to the attention of people in this country and Europe. Already commercial bodies and educational institutions have indicated their willingness to co-operate. As soon as the money can be secured for the erection of the buildings, a larger appreciation on the part of the Chinese themselves will at once be manifested. The door for progress will be open as never before. Two buildings will cost each $13,000.

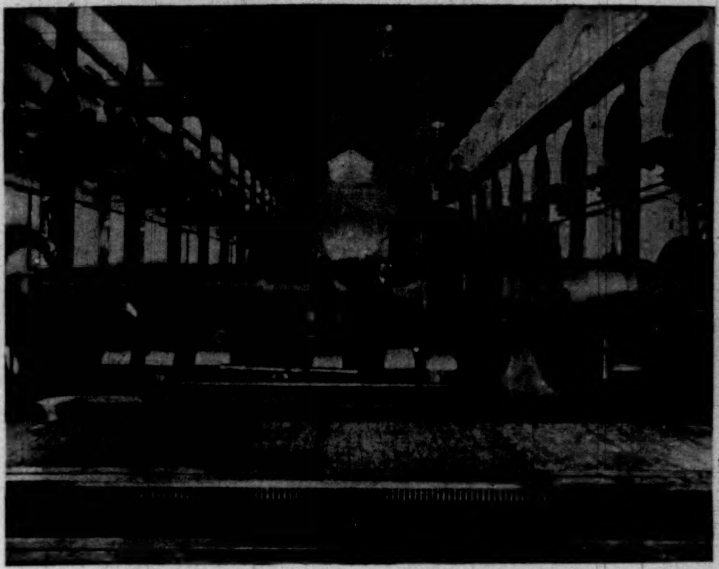
The main central building will consist of two parts—the front part will cost $14,000, and the auditorium, or larger part, will cost $35,000. Altogether, the estimated cost is only $75,000. Three competent English architects stipulate to erect these buildings, according to drawings already made, within this amount. This plan, presented to public-spirited men in the United States, offers an unusual opportunity to help in a large and generous way this new endeavor to open up China more widely and peaceably to the whole world—to commerce, to education, to civilization, and to all the varied forms of Christian missions.

Should pamphlets or other information be desired, inquiries may be made of the Fleming H. Revell Company, 158 Fifth Avenue, New York city, or of the bankers Brown Brothers, 59 Wall Street.

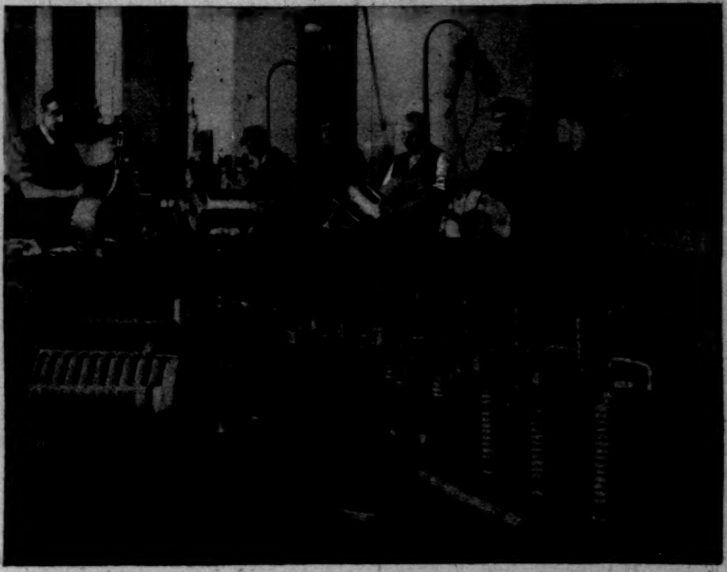
GILBERT REID.

METROPOLITAN VICEROY WANG WEN-SHAO,
OF TIEN-TSIN.

VICEROY CHANG CHIH-TUNG.



PUTTING A 12-INCH GUN IN A LATHE AT WATERVLIET ARSENAL.



ASSEMBLING FOR MECHANISM OF 10-INCH AND 12-INCH GUNS.
In Foreground, Breech-Pin for first 16-inch Gun built at Watervliet.

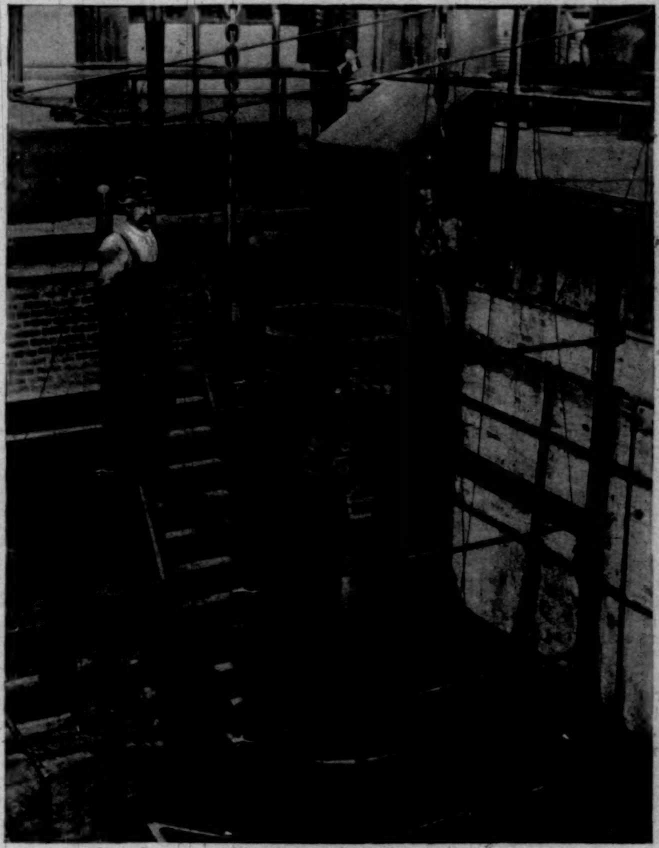
BUSY TIMES AT ARSENALS.

Illustrated with photographs of the United States Arsenal at Watervliet, New York, taken especially for "Harper's Weekly" by Albion W. Floyd, through courtesy of the Secretary of War.

THE great rush of preparing materials for war in case the Cuban question should bring on hostilities—an activity that has been widespread in the iron and steel world, and in those branches of trade that deal with explosives—centres largely around the arsenals where the guns, big and little, are made, or around the fortifications where the guns are being placed in position. One gets a better idea of what a modern cannon means by visiting the place where these guns are assembled and shipped by the dozen and score than by visiting the emplacement of a fortification or the turret of a battle-ship. It is for this reason that the great government factories for ordnance at Washington and near Troy, New York, are objects of especial interest at the present time. The arsenal near Troy is known as the Watervliet arsenal. It is where the government makes and finishes guns for the army. The guns made by the government for the navy are finished at the Washington arsenal.

It is at the Watervliet arsenal that the most interesting gun ever under construction in this country, and said to be the largest in the world, is being put together. It is the 16-inch gun for coast defence. The cost of this single weapon with its carriage will be nearly $400,000. It will be 49.1 feet long, and it will weigh 126 tons, six tons more than the monster gun which Krupp exhibited at the World's Fair in Chicago. The powder charge for this monster will probably weigh 1000 pounds. Its projectile will weigh over a ton. The extreme range of the gun will be about fifteen miles. Special machinery had to be made to produce this gun.

But not only is Watervliet interesting on account of the manufacture of such a piece of ordnance, but because of the extent of its works and capabilities of producing other kinds of ordnance. It is there that our large 10 and 12 inch rifled cannon, and our 12-inch mortar-guns for coast defence have been turned out by the score, in addition to smaller guns, for army use, by the hundreds. The main shop in the plant is 1000 feet long and 180 feet wide. It is filled with costly machinery, and guns, chiefly large ones, in various stages of completion. There are numerous other buildings at the arsenal, and the plant occupies a tract of 138 acres of land.

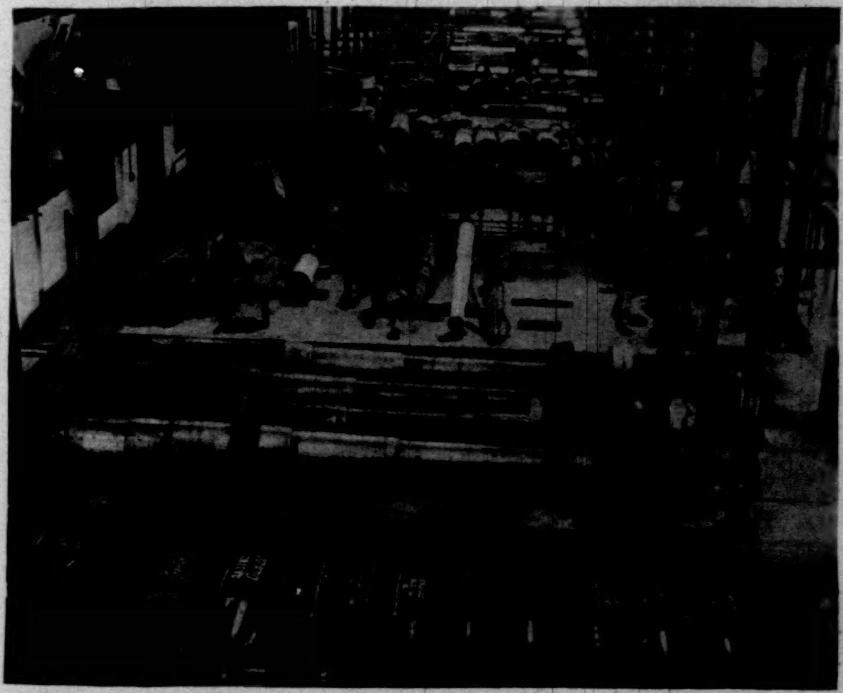


SHRINKING-PIT OF WATERVLIET ARSENAL—SHRINKING JACKET ON 12-INCH MORTAR.

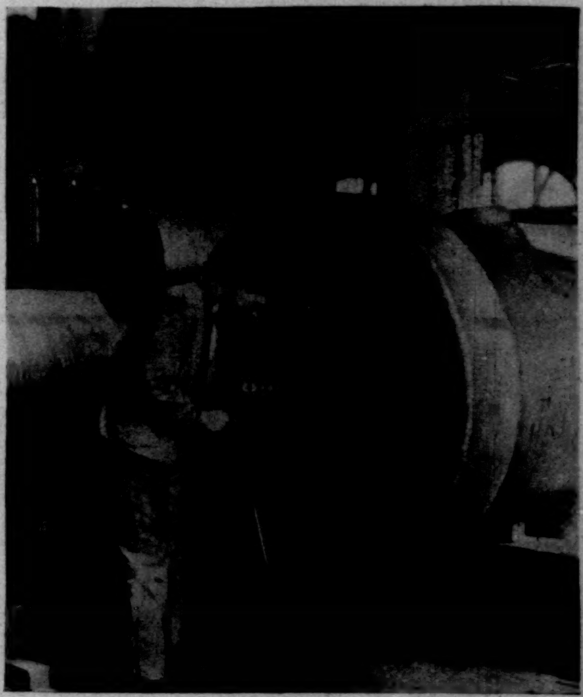
The need of haste in the present crisis has led to the working of employees in double shifts. Eight hours constitute a day's work in Federal government factories. The first shift of men goes to work at seven o'clock in the morning, and continues until four o'clock in the afternoon. The night shift goes on duty at 4 P.M., and works until midnight. About 600 men are at work, all told. It requires about one year to build a 12-inch gun in ordinary times, and even when night and day work goes on it requires nearly nine months.

The Watervliet arsenal has been in existence since 1813. It first consisted of about thirteen acres of land in what was then known as the village of West Troy. The land cost about $2500. It was primarily an arsenal—a place for the storage of war-supplies. In 1815 there was a further purchase of land, and in 1828 thirty more acres were added. From time to time more land was added, until its present extent of territory was reached. It was not until the latter part of 1887 that the manufacture of modern ordnance was begun there. Although the government has contracted with private firms and companies for making great numbers of guns, it was thought to be wise for the War Department to have its own plant as well.

The immense main building was started in 1890, and not finished until 1894. Since then it has been kept busy all the time. This main building is the chief object of interest in the place. It has in its equipment three electric cranes that are used in handling the guns in the various stages of the work upon them. One of these cranes has a lifting capacity of



INTERIOR OF GUN-FACTORY, WATERVLIET ARSENAL.
Four 12-inch Coast-defence Guns in Foreground, ready for Shipment.



WORKING ON BREECH OF FIRST 16-INCH GUN MADE AT WATERVLIET.

FIRST VIEW OF ARSENAL GROUNDS, WATERVLIET, NEW YORK, AFTER PASSING THE GUARD AT THE OUTER GATE.

30 tons; another lifts objects weighing as much as 75 tons, and the third can lift 130 tons. These cranes pick up pieces of ordnance and move them from place to place with the ease and rapidity that a porter would move a barrel in a factory. They are the greatest time-savers in the way of machinery probably that are in operation anywhere in the country.

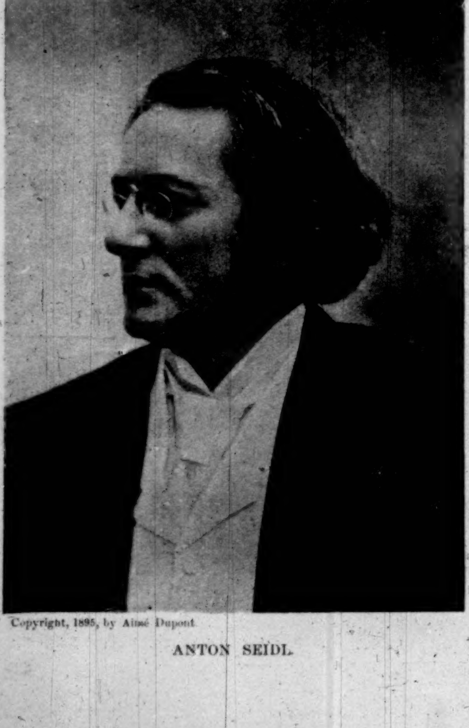
Although a modern cannon is a ponderous affair, there are few things manufactured which require tools of so great delicacy as those used in such a plant. To look at a finished gun, one would scarcely imagine that it required a tool in perfecting it that would measure the one-thousandth part of an inch. This machine is called a compositor. Then there are monster lathes for turning the guns, machines for boring, machines for rifling, and other work in the making and building of these weapons, not including the ponderous machinery required in casting and forming the ingot. The necessity of having new machinery for some of the processes in making the big 16-inch gun added enormously to its cost.

The shrinking-pit in a gun-factory is where probably the most delicate work in the plant is done. It is where the jackets are placed on the long tubes of the cannon proper. The jacket on a gun is fitted to the breach. It is heated in a furnace for about thirty hours, to a temperature of 700 degrees. Then it is quickly taken to the shrinking-pit, where the cannon proper is suspended, muzzle down. The glowing jacket is lowered gradually and most carefully over the tube, and when in position—a matter involving an adjustment of the finest character—is allowed to cool and grip the tube so that it cannot be released. The hoops and bands that are added after that in the building-up process of manufacture are shrunk on the gun while it is in a horizontal position. The ingot from which the main tube of the 16-inch gun at Watervliet was made weighed, when cast at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 82,800 pounds. The jacket forging weighed 90,000 pounds. A hole had to be bored and rifled with absolute accuracy in the main ingot; the tube had to be turned perfectly round; a circular hole, exact to the thousandth of an inch, had to be made in the jacket ingot, so that when expanded by heat, in order to slip it over the gun-tube, and contracted by gradual cooling after it was in position, it should fit the tube perfectly, and strengthen it to resist a pressure of no less than 38,000 pounds to the square inch when the gun should fire its ton projectile.

The views accompanying this article illustrate some of the stages of the manufacturing and finishing processes at Watervliet, and were taken by permission of the War Department, and through the especial courtesy of Mr. Alfred Christiansen, the mechanical engineer and master-mechanic of the gun-factory at the arsenal.

ANTON SEIDL—1850-1898.

A PROFOUNDLY sad and sudden occurrence in course of a musical season does not always mean an actual calamity. But the death of Anton Seidl, a week ago last Monday, coming with startling unexpectedness, falls as a positive disaster to certain of the highest orchestral interests in New York just at this immediate juncture of events; as well as represents a melancholy disturbance to incidents and plans independent of New York's own vivid musical life. It could hardly have been more sudden and more quickly a tragedy. Mr. Seidl was apparently in good health; somewhat tired out with the arduous work of the season now waning, but occupied in his arrangements for the numerous engagements yet to be met in town, and with a long concert tour in this country at the head of his own orchestra before him, as well as the direction of opera and the Wagner Festival in London. He died while making a late afternoon call on a friend and business manager, and when on his way homewards to receive some special guests at dinner. The cause was acute gastritis, as defined by the physicians called in; but so sudden an end was almost mysterious, swift as is the violent malady named. The funeral occurred on Thursday, in the Metropolitan Opera-House, before a large assemblage. Since the death of Dr. Damrosch in 1885, no such incident has so powerfully thrilled and shocked the musical circles of our country, and no such public tributes have been paid to any resident musician's invaluable labors and esteemed personality. The close of a great season is darkened with sorrow and burdened with a sense of personal and professional affliction.



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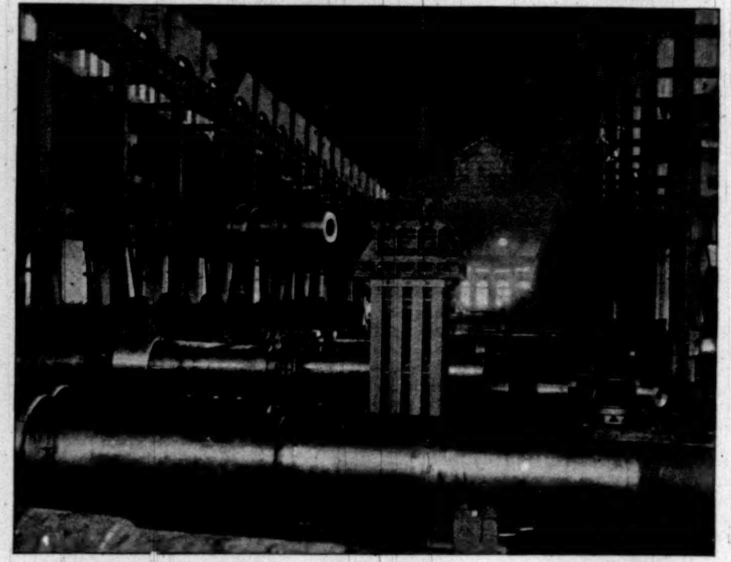
ANTON SEIDL.



TRANSFERRING A 12-INCH MORTAR FROM ONE MACHINE TO ANOTHER BY ELECTRIC CRANE.

Mr. Seidl was Hungarian by actual birth, but he has been identified with Germany and the United States during a brief and splendid career. Born at Buda-Pesth in 1850, after early studies at Leipzig he soon became a most confidential member of that intimate circle around Wagner and Wagner's family—with it, indeed, often associated by a floating legend more closely than as merely by his long musical secretaryship to Wagner and by Liszt's affectionate interest. After rapidly rising in fame as Wagner's assistant conductor and as a general conductor at Leipzig (1878), as the leader of the Angelo Neumann tour with the Nibelungen dramas (1878), and at Bremen's notable city opera (1883-5), Mr. Seidl was engaged for the (old) Metropolitan Opera-House by Mr. Edmund C. Stanton, to succeed Dr. Damrosch. In September, 1885, Mr. Seidl came to us. From that time the bright history of the Metropolitan's years of—exclusively—opera in German, the tale of its magnificent and now historic productions of Wagner's works (including the complete Tetralogy, and "The Mastersingers," and "Tristan"), of successes that have made its history one brilliant forever in musical annals—it has almost all been closely the story of Mr. Seidl's efficiency and recognition. He can hardly be separated from its chapters. The changes and shiftings of musical policy at the Opera-House gradually, but firmly, worked only for Mr. Seidl's more permanent authority and honor there. Under Mr. Grau, too, his career and fame had lately widened, and his name was impressing itself on a public foreign to us as it had not done in the past.

Last season's London and Baireuth performances were doubtless but the beginning of a larger international reputation than ever before. The fair splendors of a quite new career were apparently before Mr. Seidl. And since, with all his specialistic charges, as an operatic director, he had identified himself as the conductor of such orchestral societies and concert series as the Philharmonic, the Brighton Beach seasons, the Seidl Society, the Astoria, the Chickering Hall, the various concerts and tours of his own band, his life was of exceptional concert industry. It need not be said that so abrupt a conclusion of all its varied concerns means grave and tangled complications in our city's immediate future, as well as a dolorous hour to all who esteemed and admired the musician and the unassuming, amiable, sincere man.

Mr. Seidl was, in fact, an unusual musician—a conductor in his field with no superior whosoever—and in many traits he was an unusual man. He was educated in much besides his profession. His general culture was wide. As a conductor he was among the first in the world, particularly and peculiarly as concerned the interpretation of Wagner's scores. By inheritance, by tradition, by genius, by training, Seidl was a lord and a master in the delivery of Wagner, as have been only half a dozen Wagner leaders, since Wagnerism first uttered its messages to the operatic stage. Those who have heard him lead Wagner's greatest pages will never forget how Mr. Seidl disclosed their contents. His individuality in Wagnerism is not likely to be attained by new men—at least not with us who know what he was wont to do. In a wide range of classic and modern dramatic opera—"Don Giovanni," "Fidelio," "Euryanthe," "The Queen of Sheba"—he was admirable. As a director of orchestral concerts in general Mr. Seidl, naturally enough, was unequal, and often not felicitous.

But it is to be said to his honor in this quality that he conducted Bach, Mozart, and several of Beethoven's symphonies with masterly insight. (He was to lead the "Ninth Symphony" at the last Philharmonic concerts, during the same week that brought death to him.) As a composer Mr. Seidl made no pretensions, and was too busy to disclose his originality, except in his orchestral transcriptions, including the superb "Bach Divertimento" one, produced at the Philharmonic a few seasons ago. He has been spoken of lately as engaged on an opera.

But the story of the personality, the industry, the individualism, of Mr. Seidl cannot be told in a brief newspaper notice. He was too great a leader for that. Few directors so plainly fall into perspective at once. His keen, fine face, his serious, dignified manner, his deep musicianship, will long be our memory. The future held so much for him, beyond doubt. But Death is the intent, sombre leader of all this orchestra of life; and at his signal Anton Seidl too must needs cease to play his part, and must leave us. So comes a silence to sadden and to perturb a whole community, and to grieve all those musical circles of Europe yet in touch with his merits and his mastery.

E. IRENÆUS STEVENSON.

WASHINGTON.

April 4, 1898.

WITHIN the last week the Cuban complication has taken an unexpected turn in Congress. The *Maine* episode has come to the front, and the idea of intervening merely for the purpose of relieving the reconcentrados has been shifted to a secondary place. The President still prefers to treat the *Maine* affair as a thing apart; but it is that, more than the stories of suffering, which has moved the Committee on Foreign Relations in both Senate and House to prepare resolutions looking to the recognition of Cuban independence, and armed intervention, if necessary, to maintain our position.

The elections held in Spain and Cuba a week ago resulted, as was expected, in a victory for the government. Inspired by a hope that this assurance of popular support would make Sagasta and his colleagues more open to diplomatic approach, the President entered upon a new and final negotiation, having for its immediate object the cessation of the war in Cuba. The leaders of both Houses of Congress warned him that, in view of the feeling of exasperation there, it was uncertain how long the members could be held in check. They were assured that if they would abstain from any aggressive action till the close of the week, they should then have a full statement of the diplomatic situation, and could proceed intelligently to their next step. An informal compact was made on this basis, and the only attempt to overset the programme—a resolution recognizing Cuban independence, sprung upon the House by Representative Bailey of Texas—was promptly snuffed out by the Speaker on a point of order, the Chair being sustained, on appeal, by a close party vote of 180 to 139.

On Friday the President gave a brief statement to the press that his negotiations with the Spanish government had come to no satisfactory conclusion, and that he would refer the whole matter to Congress in a special message as soon as he could prepare one. This message will go in to-morrow or Wednesday. Meanwhile the most that is known as to the attitude of Spain is that she has already provided for the release of the reconcentrados, and appropriated $600,000 to relieve their necessities and restore them to normal conditions of life, and that she will agree to an armistice till the new Cuban Autonomist Legislature can consider the situation. In no wise, however, has she consented to make Cuban independence a subject of discussion.

The Cuban insurgents still insist that they do not desire to see the United States involved in war with Spain, but that our simple recognition of independence of their republic will accomplish all they wish. Meanwhile the Senate has discussed Mr. Lodge's project for the purchase of the island of St. Thomas from Denmark, with a view of giving us a coaling station; but the Danish government appears to be reluctant to do anything which might be interpreted by Spain as an unfriendly act in the present crisis.

The scene in the Senate Chamber when the report of the naval board of inquiry was received last Monday was highly impressive. The chaplain's opening prayer had made pointed references to the international crisis, and appealed for Divine guidance through a period so stirring to the passions of men. The galleries were crowded to overflowing, and long queues ran out into the corridors, almost blockading passage there. Some routine business had been transacted in the first few minutes of the session; but as the door at the rear of the Chamber opened and the Vice-President ordered proceedings suspended to receive a message from the President, an expectant hush fell upon Senators and spectators. As the last Senator who had any business to offer took his seat, his associates laid aside their writing and reading and settled themselves in attentive attitudes, the occupants of the galleries bent eagerly forward, and the Vice-President drew the manuscript from its wrapping and handed it to the clerk.

Even the dreary singsong of the reading did not abate the earnestness of the attention paid to every line and word, till, as the end was reached, Senator Davis of Minnesota moved the reference of message, report, and accompanying papers to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which he is chairman, and the assembled multitude drew a long breath of relief.

Preparations for national defence still go on actively in the War and Navy departments. News has reached this country of the purchase of another cruiser abroad. A novelty has been added to the naval establishment, called the mosquito fleet. Petty squadrons formed of tugs and yachts, partly protected, and armed with rapid-fire guns, will be stationed at various exposed ports, and manned by naval militia. It is suggested that when an attack is expected at any particular port, several of these squadrons may be assembled at that point, and make a pretty formidable defensive force.

In a consultation between the Secretary of the Navy and the Superintendent of the Naval Academy the other day, it was decided to waive the final examinations for graduation at Annapolis this year, and to give the members of the graduating class their diplomas two months in advance, so that they may be at once assigned to sea duty.

Enlistments for the navy have not kept up their first active pace. For this reason the department is disposed to exercise a good deal of lenity in the cases of men under charges of desertion. Those who have made good previous records, and whose fault was merely technical, will probably be received back, and the charge entered against their names will be changed from desertion to "straggling."

Notice has been received at the War Department of the organization of a National Volunteer Reserve, under the sponsorship of a number of veteran officers, Northern and Southern. Its purpose is to enroll some two million citizens of proper age and physically able to bear arms, who are to sign a pledge to respond to the call of the President or of the Governors of their respective States and Territories for volunteers in case of war. It is hoped by this means to prepare the way for a great and impressive popular uprising for the defence of the government, and avoid many of the delays incident to the raising of a volunteer army which caused such embarrassment in the early days of the civil war. Lieutenant-General John M. Schofield, U.S.A. (retired), and Lieutenant-General James Longstreet, of the late Confederate army, are leading spirits in the movement.

Some alarm was aroused in Washington on Friday night by a cable despatch stating that the Spanish torpedo flotilla had reached Porto Rico. The discredit thrown upon the report by the navigation experts at the Navy Department was justified by the authentic news received later that the advance members of the flotilla had reached Cape Verde Islands, where they had temporarily put in. This flotilla, the arrival of which in our waters had been dreaded by those who realize its strength and suspect a hostile purpose in its coming, consists of six vessels: three torpedo-boats—the *Ariete*, the *Azor*, and the *Rayo*—and three torpedo-boat-destroyers, the *Furor*, the *Terror*, and the *Pluton*. The *Ariete* and the *Rayo* are 97-ton boats, each 147.5 feet long, and armed with four 3-pounder rapid-fire guns, and three and two torpedo-tubes, respectively. The *Azor* is a 108-ton boat, 134.5 feet long, and with the same armament as *Ariete*. The destroyers are steel vessels, the *Furor* and *Terror* being twins, of 380 tons, 220 feet in length, and armed with two 14-pounder and two 6-pounder rapid-fire guns, two 37-millimetre automatic guns—all of the Maxim-Nordenfeldt design—and two torpedo-tubes. The *Pluton* is a 400-ton vessel, 225 feet long, carrying two 12-pounders, two 6-pounders, and two 1-pounders, and two torpedo-tubes. The flotilla is in convoy of a cruiser taken from the transatlantic merchant fleet, of 3084 tons displacement, 363.6 feet long, and armed with 5½-inch Hontoria guns.

On Wednesday another fleet of Spanish war-vessels set sail from Cartagena, bound westward. It consisted of the armored cruiser *Infanta Maria Teresa*, a sister ship to the *Vizcaya;* the armored cruiser *Cristobal Colon*, and a formidable torpedo-boat-destroyer, the *Destructor*. The war-ships *Pelayo* and *Carlos V.*, which have been in French ports, have sailed for Cartagena, evidently to be prepared there for foreign service. The *Vizcaya* and *Almirante Oquendo* have meanwhile left Havana harbor, apparently to meet the torpedo flotilla at Martinique, and escort it into West Indian waters.

The funeral of Lieutenant Friend W. Jenkins, one of the two young officers lost in the *Maine* disaster, occurred at Allegheny, Pennsylvania, on Wednesday, Pittsburg joining in the obsequies. The body lay in state for two hours at the Allegheny Post-office, and later at the Pittsburg Court-house, the bells of the churches tolling as the citizens filed by the bier. Business was practically suspended, and the whole population thronged the streets. The funeral procession was made up of militia regiments, a detachment of naval reserves, the local Grand Army posts, and other patriotic organizations, and headed by General Wiley and staff of the Pennsylvania National Guard. The Protestant Episcopal service for the dead was read at Christ Church, Allegheny, and a sermon preached by the rector, the Rev. Robert Meech. The burial was in Uniondale Cemetery, where a volley of musketry was fired over the grave and an American flag planted at its head.

Francis E. Leupp.

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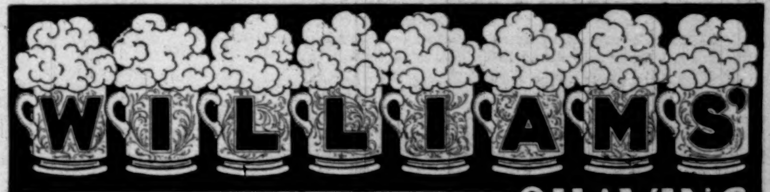

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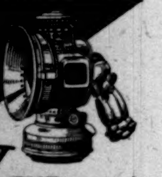

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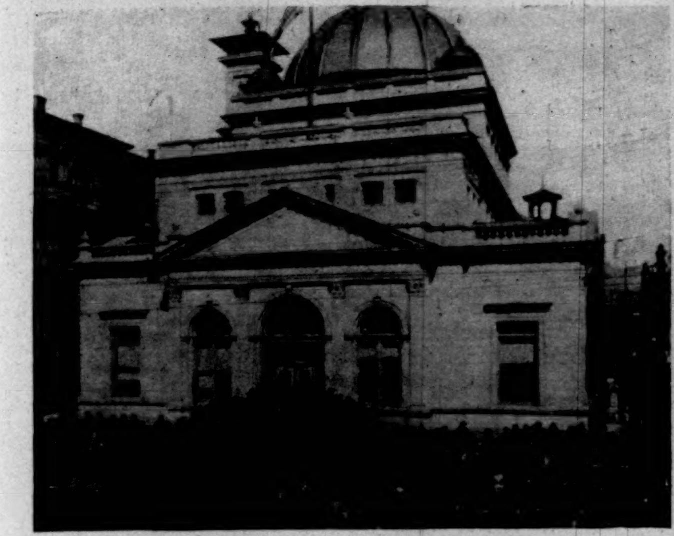

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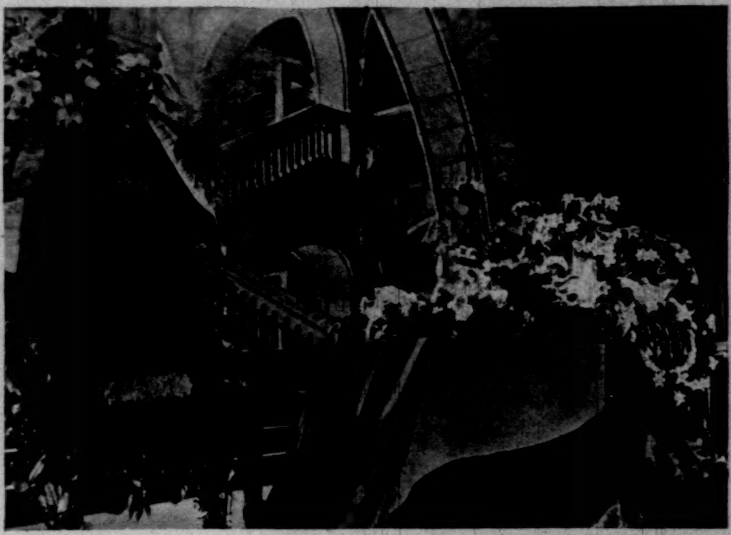

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FUNERAL OF LIEUTENANT FRIEND W. JENKINS, U.S.N., OF THE "MAINE," AT ALLEGHENY, PENNSYLVANIA, MARCH 30, 1898.—[SEE PAGE 355.]

AMATEVR · SPORT

During Mr. WHITNEY'S *absence on a sporting tour around the world, in the interest of* HARPER'S WEEKLY, *this department will publish contributions from well-known writers upon special subjects relating to Amateur Sport.*

A HARVARD MAN AT OXFORD.

BY JOHN CORBIN.

V.—ENGLISH AND AMERICAN RUGBY.

I.

FOR the origin of American Rugby we have to look to the English game of the early seventies. As I have said, this was a game of closely packed scrummages for offence and defence, flanked by a reserve of five men for purposes of defence merely. This game our men tried to learn from a study of the printed rules of the Rugby Union. About the only teams to have any actual experience of the game as properly played were the Harvard teams, which had occasional matches with Canadian universities. In the course of time, partly because of the confusion and obscurity in the wording of the Rugby rules, partly in consequence of a disregard of the spirit of the rules, which, it is to be feared, has since proved only too characteristic, and partly also in consequence of a no less characteristic ingenuity—our players little by little altered the game. There is no clearer indication, in fact, of the mental and temperamental difference between the American and the Englishman than is found in the history of Rugby football.

Instead of waiting for the ball to pop out of the scrum, as any self-respecting Englishman of that period would have done, we took matters in our own hands—or, to be more literal, we took the ball to our feet—and regularly heeled it out whenever we thought we could gain by the play. This, as I have said, is exactly what the English players learned to do in time; but the respect for English tradition is so much stronger in the loyal Canadian than in home-born Briton that when we anticipated the development it led to a discontinuance of matches between Harvard and the Canadians. Thus the only live source of English football tradition in America went by the board.

As our game increased in popularity a series of wholly new features was introduced. So great did the advantage of heeling out appear that forward play developed into a scrabble to get possession of the ball. This must have caused much blind hacking and other brutality. The initial struggle was soon obviated by permitting the centre forward to snap back the ball—at first with his foot, and then with his hand. This of course involved the "possession of the ball," granted which, passing, as the English understand it (which involves great risk of "losing the ball"), is impossible. The introduction of the possession of the ball marks the birth of the American game.

This innovation revolutionized the game of the forwards. "Packs," and even the more modern features of English scrumming—all of which depend upon perfect neutrality of possession—were no longer feasible. The opposing rushers lined up face to face, and sought only to protect or to aid in the running of their backs, or to tackle the backs of their opponents. In other words, the possession of the ball implied that a side should either attack with all its forces, or stand wholly upon the defensive.

At this stage of the development of our game it is obvious that the weaker side, so long as it did not "lose the ball" by fumbling or otherwise, was able to keep the stronger side from scoring, and often did this throughout a game. To prevent blocked games, it was ruled that if a side failed to gain five yards in three successive attempts, it should lose the ball. This is the origin of counting downs—the second great feature of our game.

The number of players meanwhile had been reduced to eleven. This clearly indicates that the game was becoming, as a whole, more fast and open.

Each of these innovations, it is evident, tended away from the blind struggle which is still so prominent a feature of the parent game, and in the direction of clever, well-organized play.

The fact that our game consists of a succession of "runs" led to the invention of various "plays." At first these consisted in a combination between two or three of the "rushers" and the back who was running with the ball. Guard and tackle would "make a hole" in the opposing line, or tackle and end would block off their men so that he might "circle the end." These plays, which are a logical result of the possession of the ball, involve a clear breach of the off-side rule, and pointed the way toward the flagrant off-side of "interference." The idle half-back would run ahead of the man with the ball, while the full-back would perhaps ram him through the "hole" from behind. When these tricks were brought out they were formally protested as involving off-side play; but Rugby traditions were so weak, and so obviously grew out of an entirely different game, while the strategic advantage of interference was so vast, that we altered our definition of off-side. The development of interference was logical and inevitable.

Yale was the first to take advantage—under the able guidance of Mr. Walter Camp—of the enormous possibilities of interference. The teams of 1891–2 brought out plays in which every man in the eleven had a definite part to perform, and the success of which depended—as in real warfare—upon every man's performing his part. Then Mr. Lorin F. Deland taught the Harvard eleven his wonderful strategic plays, in which, by a clever evasion of the spirit of the rules, momentum was added to interference. Thus the spirit of manipulation, which at first led to an abolition of promiscuous roughness in the scrummage, led us back to a roughness which was no less real because founded upon stratagem.

That this roughness is a permanent feature of the game no one will believe for a moment, for the dominant spirit of our sport has always been one of stratagem rather than of brute force. Already our football experts, taking advantage of hospitable advances from the University Athletic Club, have framed rules for the purpose of moderating the game. The good effect of these is lessened by the fact that the partisan desire to win a game at any cost often makes our coaches cleverer at evading laws than at making them, so that the left hand has been known to undo the work of the right; but the spirit of moderation is abroad in the land, and in the end it must conquer.

II.

The particulars in which our game is most susceptible of moderation are mainly the results of the two vital principles of American Rugby—the possession of the ball and interference. When a man is tackled in our game he does not dare to pass the ball, for fear his side will lose possession of it. Our rule is therefore to tackle low and fell the runner in his tracks, so as to stop the progress of the ball, and, if possible, make the runner drop it in order that the tackler's side may snatch it up. On the other hand, a runner is in duty bound to struggle on the ground until he has gained the last inch, so that as many men as the law allows pile on top of him to arrest his gains and make him cry "down." The most brilliant tackler is the one who can slam his man hardest upon the ground, and the best runner the one who can struggle farthest at the bottom of the heap. In England it is still fair play to grab a man by the ankle, but in order to prevent a pass the tackler in nine cases out of ten aims at the ball. The result is that a man is seldom slammed to the earth as he should be in our game. And once a man is down, there is none of the sowbug business at the bottom of the heap. The rule plainly states that "in the event of any player holding or running with the ball being tackled, *and the ball fairly held*, he must *at once cry 'down,'* and *immediately put it down.*" The comparative harmlessness of English tackling is aptly indicated by the fact that the men wear flannel shorts instead of quilted breeches, and have bare knees instead of stuffed knee-pads. Yet this is largely due to the fact that an English field is kept green and springy by the autumn and winter rains. It would be wrong to conclude that English tackling is child's play. And piling up is at least not unknown, for one may always dispute as to when the ball is fairly held.

Of the dangers of our mass plays and interference, so much has been said of late and so many stringent rules framed that it is unnecessary to dwell long upon the subject. As for mass plays, the charges of brutality have, I should say, been rather overdone. When men are wedged together they protect one another, and, even with considerable momentum, the crushing can scarcely be greater than in an excited election crowd. The legislation against mass plays is probably due to an intelligent desire on the part of the experts to make the game more interesting by making it more open. The dangers of interference in the open seem to me distinctly greater. The colliding players not only run directly at each other, but their speed is quadrupled. When a man is blocked off he is liable to be thrown violently upon the far from tender bosom of our November Mother-earth. Any one familiar with the practice of an American eleven will remember the constant cry of the coaches: "Put your man out of the play; knock him on the ground!" My own observation has been that a large majority of the serious and lasting injuries are got in the open. It has been truly said that the American game has exaggerated the most dangerous features of the two English games—the tackling of English Rugby and the "charging" or body-checking of the Association game. It is only fair to add that our game is not inevitably brutal. Whenever two elevens go into a contest with a willingness to abide by the spirit of our rules, as happened in the chief games last fall, and in certain previous years remembered by the enthusiast, it has been impossible to object to the play on the score of roughness. The facts I have stated are important chiefly as emphasizing the necessity for a sportsmanlike spirit.

Perhaps the chief reason for the comparative innocence of the English game lies in the fact that an injured player cannot be substituted. When a player is disqualified for rough play or retired on account of injuries, his side has to finish the game a man short. There are several reasons why this rule could not be adopted in America. The loss of a man from eleven is much more severely felt than from fifteen; it would be more fatal to our team-play than to the English "combination"; and the temptation to "lay up" a clever opponent, which, in spite of the abundance of fresh substitutes, has frequently proved too strong for the sportsmanship of American players, would be doubled. Yet the idea has marked advantages. A man will think twice about slugging if, when disqualified, his loss cannot be supplied; and when an accident is as severely felt by the team as by an individual, the general style of play must moderate. A careful adaptation of the rule would do more to prevent brutality than pages of rules and folios of preachments. For instance, it might be ordered that the maximum of substitutions on either side in consequence of injuries should be three, or even two, and that a side indulging in slugging might lose the slugger without the privilege of substituting.

The greatest point of difference between the English and the American games lies in the severity of our preliminary practice. Our season is so short and our game so complicated, that in the effort to reach the highest pitch of science and condition, coaches and men alike are constantly tempted to overwork. Numbers of our athletes enter every great contest bearing injuries that the slightest accident will develop into sprains or dislocations. Four-fifths of the hard knocks of which reporters made so much in the great games are only slight aggravations of injuries received on the practice-field.

In consequence of this there is already a distinct movement in favor of lessening the severity of practice. The Harvard authorities, under the able guidance of Mr. James G. Lathrop, have limited each day's battle to periods ranging between five to twenty-five minutes, as the day varied or the season advanced. There can be no doubt that under this régime the men played with unprecedented "ginger." In fact, as the final team had to be selected on the basis of the work done in these brief line-ups, the men simply tore up the earth. In the first season of the new régime the fittest who survived this struggle were more battered and bruised than any previous Harvard eleven. The incident shows the difficulty of teaching American athletes moderation—even the mild-mannered sort of athletes produced at Cambridge. Yet experience and common-sense are correcting this fault, and the tendency is widespread to modify the severity and tedium of football practice.

The actual difference between the "practice" of an English and an American team is almost incredible to one who has not seen it. To sift the candidates for an English team there is a Freshman match and a Senior match, with perhaps one or two "squashes" besides. Even these tests are largely a matter of form. Men are selected chiefly on their public-school reputations, and in consequence of good work in a college fifteen. The process of manufacturing players, so familiar to us, is unknown. There are no Camps and Delands in England—in fact, no coaching of any kind, as we understand the word. When a man has learned the game at his public school or in his college, he has learned it for all time, though he will of course improve by playing for the university. The team plays a game or two a week against the great club teams of England—Blackheath, Richmond, London Scottish, Cardiff, Newport, and Huddersfield—with perhaps a bit of informal kicking and punting betweentimes. When the weather is bad they lay off entirely. Thus all the deadly worry and exhaustion of practice are avoided. This is especially true in the college teams, which seldom or never play together except in a match game. They may have a "kickabout" on the field betweentimes, but this is only for the exercise and the fun of it.

III.

The virtue of such temperance is that it makes the English game much more moderate and sensible, and, however unscientific, much more fun to play. The football limp and the football patch are far from being thought the final grace of manhood. Of course good men "crock," as they call it, every season; and not a few of the injuries are as serious as those on our own fields. Yet they are accidents, not incidents. The natural physical effect of the game is to make men erect, lithe, and sound. And the effect on the nervous system is similar. The worried, drawn features of the American player on the eve of a great game are unknown. If you told an Englishman that American players have been given sulphonal to put them to sleep, he would certainly stare. He could not understand how football should be anything else than a sport, an exercise that brings manly powers into play.

Delightful as the English spirit is, however, to one accustomed to the exaggerations of our American games, it must be admitted that it has the defects of its quality. If the fifteen show what we should call a disgraceful lack of form, the fringe of fellows along the side-lines smile, and say that the 'varsity billiard tournament has interfered with their football. In an inter-'varsity match I saw the Oxford team, which was fifty per cent. the better, allow itself to be shoved all over the field. It succeeded in keeping the score a tie only by the merest good fortune. It transpired later that the gayeties of Brighton, whither they had gone to put the finishing-touches on their training, had beguiled them. Nobody really resented it. You can't expect a man to be everywhere in the push.

This spirit of *laissez-faire* is carried into the great international matches, and exaggerates the tendency I noted last week to revert to the primitive game of brute force. Everybody knows that the most effective game is that in which there is the most skilful combination, and that this cannot be attained without practice. Yet for an international fifteen to play together before the match would be in particularly bad form. The result is the most amusing anomalies. Wade, the great Oxford three-quarter-back of a dozen years ago, who is perhaps the greatest of all three-quarters, first "got his international" on account of his excellence in combination; but as he had never laid eyes on the other two men in the position until the day of the game, his playing proved nothing above the ordinary, and it took another season to convince the nation that his reputation was just. The fifteen international stars may thus be no better as a team than any one of the half a dozen teams from which they were selected. This was curiously demonstrated half a dozen years ago. Owing to club jealousies, Cardiff had to supply almost all the Welsh internationals. The result was a better showing than Wales had ever made. In the following year nine of the fifteen internationals were taken from the Newport team, and Wales for the first time won the championship.

IV.

I venture to say, however, that there is something in football beyond an afternoon's sport. Centuries before the formation of the Rugby Union the game was regarded as a mimic warfare. Mr. Montague Shearman, in his excellent article on football in the *Badminton Library*, quotes as follows from Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, 1602. "The play is verilie both rude and rough, yet such as is not destitute of politics, resembling in some sorts the feats of war. . . . It puts a courage into their hearts to meet an enemy in the face." And Mr. Shearman himself, in protesting that the game should consist of something besides scientific dodging and passing, says: "To our mind, the delight of the Rugby Union game. . . . came from its resemblance to mimic warfare. . . . There was something of the stern joy of warfare in the rushing attack, the stubborn defence, the grapple breast to breast, the overthrow, and the rise again to face the foe." This praise, which is to be spoken of the English game only in a moment of enthusiasm, leaves half the virtue of the American game untold. If the English player must be "not destitute" of the "politics" of war, the American must act in a hand-to-hand contest with the coolness and precision of troops on parade; and furthermore, at least the captain and the quarter-back must exercise the highest generalship in the midst of the feats of war. The superiority of our game as a test of courage and discipline, presence of mind and intellectual grasp, is simply incalculable.

Even on the score of general playability it is by no means certain that our game is permanently in arrears. A period of rapid growth, such as it is at present passing through, is always marked by flagrant excesses. Yet it is mathematically demonstrable that the invention of new features in the game must have a limit, and consequently that this period of growth must cease. The type must, as in all evolutions, become at last fixed. That is to say, in future the game will not be, as now, radically different each year from the game of all preceding years. It will be the same old game, year in and year out; and everybody, from the youngest prep. to the oldest grad., will know it and love it. The science and art of its practice will be as generally understood as that of the English game is to-day. Then the Freshman player will be as thorough a tactician as the Senior, and the régime of endless practice, worry, and diplomacy will be over.

Of course there will always be parents, faculties, and legislators that think that they can make a man gentle or generous by law. And, so long at least as our sons resemble their fathers, we shall place success above character, victory above sport. Yet, if the legislators let the game crystallize in anything like its present form, and if at the same time we regain our Anglo-Saxon birthright of sportsmanship, we shall have a game the equal of which, for sport, science, and prowess, has never yet been known.

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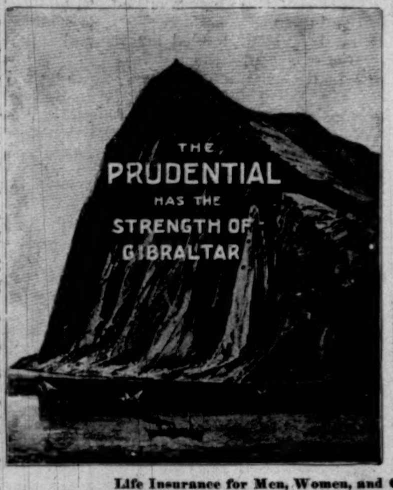

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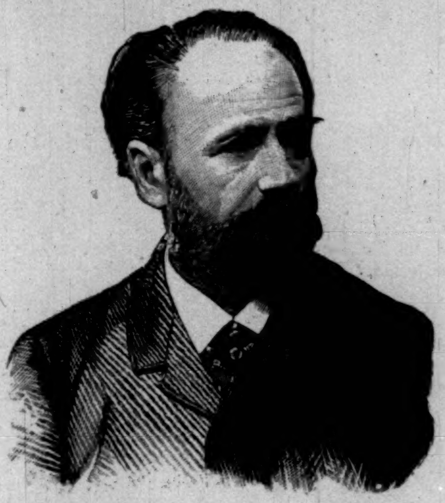

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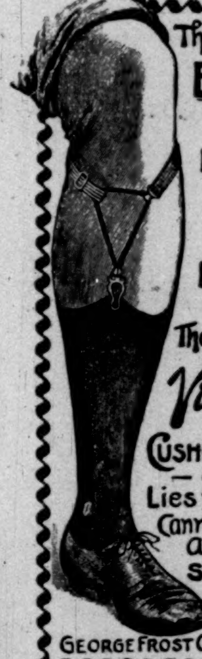

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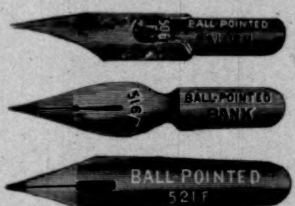

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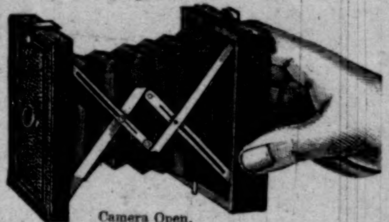

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